

William J. ...
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PROCEEDINGS
of the
TRIALS
of Slansky, et al
in Prague, Czechoslovakia
November 20-27, 1952
as broadcast by the
CZECHOSLOVAK HOME SERVICE

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— THE COURSE OF THE TRIAL —

Thursday, November 20, 1952

Morning — Opening of the Trial

Afternoon — SLANSKY

Evening — Witnesses

Josef Vondracek
Dr. Vaclav Vlk
Dr. Eduard Goldstuecker
Dr. Pavel Kavan
Mordecai Oren
Jaromir Kopecky
Oskar Langer
Andela Kankovska

Friday, November 21, 1952

Morning — GEMINDER

Witnesses

Reiman
Klinger

Afternoon — CLEMENTIS

Evening — Witnesses

Jaroslav Jircik
Novomesky
Ivan Horvath

Saturday, November 22, 1952

Morning — CLEMENTIS (cont.)

LONDON
HAJDU
Witnesses

Karel Dufek
Vlastimil Borek

Afternoon — SIMONE
Evening — FREJKA

Sunday, November 23, 1952

Morning — Witnesses

Ivan Holy
Bedrich Hajek
Jancik (Jung)

FRANK
Witness

Marie Svermova

Evening — EVZEN LOEBL
Witnesses

Dagmar Kacerovska
Josef Hajman

Monday, November 24, 1952

Morning — RUDOLF MARGOLIUS
OTTO FISCHL

Afternoon — SLING
Witnesses

Voska
Vaclav Pacak
Hanus Lieben-Lomsky

Tuesday, November 25, 1952

Morning — SVAB
Witnesses

Osvald Zavodsky
Vera Hloskova
Oscar Valasek

Afternoon — REICIN
Evening — Witnesses

Gustav Freisleben
Vladmir Horsky
Vilem Novy
Simon Orenstein
Gusta Fucikova

Wednesday, November 26, 1952

Morning — Hearing of experts on planning, foreign trade and finance:

1. Josef Pucik — Chairman of the State Planning Office
2. Jan Soucek — Deputy Minister for Foreign Trade
3. Josef Cekal — Deputy to the Director of the Control Department of the State Bank

Dr. Urvalek, Chief Prosecutor

Afternoon — Defense Counsels: Dr. Bartos, Dr. Posmura, Dr. Ruzicka, Dr. Synek
Final Statements of the Accused

Thursday, November 27, 1952

Morning — Sentencing

**NOVEMBER 20, 1952 — FIRST DAY OF THE
TRIAL — MORNING SESSION**

On November 20, 1952, at 0900 hours court proceedings started before the Senate of the State Court in Prague against the leadership of the Anti-State Conspiratorial Center headed by Rudolf Slansky. The Court consisted of: Chairman, Dr. Jaroslav Novak; Prosecutor, Dr. Josef Urvalek. The prosecution was further represented by Prosecutors Vaclav Ales, Miroslav Kolaja and Frantisek Hanzl.

Shortly before 0900 hours, the accused were brought into the courtroom. The working people's representatives who filled the courtroom with disgust — even with deep contempt — at the faces of the accused, the imperialist mercenaries whose dirty plans were foiled in time!

At 0900 hours the Prosecutors took their seats. The gathering rose to its feet when the State Court, consisting of five judges presided over by Dr. Novak, entered the courtroom. Dr. Novak opened the trial: "Be seated. I herewith open the trial before the State Court of the accused Rudolf Slansky and his partners for crimes of high treason, espionage, military treason, and sabotage." He read off the names and former positions held by the accused:

Rudolf Slansky, former Deputy Prime Minister and former Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Bedrich Geminder, former Chief of the International Department of the Central Committee's Secretariat.

Ludvik Frejka, former Chairman of the National Economic Branch in the office of the President of the Republic.

Josef Frank, former Deputy of the Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

Vladimir Clementis, former Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Bedrich Reicin, former Deputy to the Minister of National Defense.

Karel Svab, former Deputy to the Minister of National Security.

Arthur London, former Deputy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Vavro Hajdu, former Deputy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Evzen Loebel, former Deputy to the Minister of Foreign Trade.

Rudolf Margolius, also former Deputy to the Minister of Foreign Trade.

Otto Fischl, former Deputy to the Minister of Finance.

Otto Sling, former Deputy to the Minister of Finance, Secretary of the Communist Party in Brno.

Andre Simone, former editor of Rude Pravo.

The presiding judge then announced: "As defending counsels of the accused, the following have been officially appointed: "Dr. Vladimir Bartos, to defend the accused Slansky and Margolius; Dr. Vojtech Posmura, for the accused Geminder, Svab, and Loebel; Dr. Jiri Stastny, for the accused Frank, Clementis, and Reicin; Dr. Vaclav Synek, for the accused Fischl, Hajdu, and Sling; Dr. Jaromir Ruzicka for the accused Frejka, London, and Simone. I draw the attention of the accused to the fact that it is in their own interest to follow the contents of the indictment as well as the proceedings of the trial. They also have the right to make a statement about each item of evidence.

"It is necessary to point out to them that one of the most important extenuating circumstances to be considered when sentences are passed, in case they are found guilty, is a full and penitent confession. Otherwise, the accused can naturally conduct the defense as they think fit. I will now ask the Chief Prosecutor to read the indictment."

The Chief Prosecutor then read individual chapters of the indictment. His concluding remarks were these:

"Thus, it is irrefutably proven that the accused, headed by Slansky, committed the most serious crimes against the State and the people. There is no worse crime than treason against the Fatherland and the Nation, whoever commits it.

"The treachery and danger of attacking the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the Fatherland planned by these criminals is all the greater because they abused their membership in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, they misused the trust of our working people's party, misused the high official positions entrusted to them, and joined hands with our bitterest enemies—the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys—in order that our Fatherland might be thrown into the shackles of capitalism.

"They could only carry out their criminal activities by pretending to approve of the program and policy of the Communist Party and by masking themselves cleverly so that they would not be found out. Even after some members of the Anti-State Conspiratorial Center were unmasked and imprisoned, the crafty double dealer Rudolf Slansky tried to divert attention from himself as head of the conspiracy, by pretending that he himself was to be the victim

of the subversive activities of Sling, Svermova, and others.

"However, although the conspirators headed by Slansky succeeded in occupying important posts in the organs of the Party and the State, from which they could dangerously threaten the Republic, the People's Democratic regime, and the Socialist edifice, they did not succeed—as did Tito in Yugoslavia—in controlling the highest organs of the Party and the State, usurping power, and thus realizing their criminal intentions. They failed, thanks to the vigilance and watchfulness, coupled with determination, of the leader of the Czechoslovak people, Comrade Klement Gottwald; thanks to the solidarity and unity of the Communist Party Central Committee around Comrade Gottwald; and thanks to the unwaivering faithfulness and devotion of all the Czechoslovak people to the Party."

NOVEMBER 20, 1952 — AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session began with an examination of the chief accused, Slansky.

Presiding Judge: "Accused Slansky, step before the microphone. Are you guilty of the four described criminal acts?"

Slansky: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "The first crime is espionage."

Slansky: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "High treason."

Slansky: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "Sabotage."

Slansky: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "Military treason."

Slansky: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "Will you please tell us in what respect you admit your guilt?"

Slansky (speaking slowly and haltingly in a hushed voice): "I fully admit my guilt and I wish to describe in detail and truthfully everything I have done. I have done serious wrong so far as the interests of the Czechoslovak people are concerned. By right, I am judged by this court, by the people's democratic court, by right I am forced to answer to charges today before all the Czechoslovak people and also before all democratic peoples of the world. In my testimony, therefore, I shall spare neither myself nor my partners."

"Above all I shall not spare myself, because I, as one of the most important officials of the Communist Party, misused this great trust invested in me by the Communist Party and the Czechoslovak people, whose great achievements, gained since 1945, I have threatened through my activities."

"First of all I wish to confess my guilt that, as the enemy of the Communist Party and the people's democratic regime, I formed the Anti-State Conspiratorial Center at the head of which I stood for several years. In this center of ours I concentrated a number of various capitalist and bourgeois-nationalist elements."

"My collaborators became agents of imperialist espionage services, that is, of the French, English, and particularly the American services, and carried out hostile activities serving the interests of the American and English imperialists, who aimed at liquidating the people's democratic order, restoring capitalism, and effecting a reorientation of Czechoslovak foreign policy in favor of the Western capitalist powers. I carried out hostile activities within the Czechoslovak Communist Party—in the economic, foreign, security, and other sectors. We worked for complete seizure of power in the Party and

State to enable us to restore capitalism and to liquidate the people's democratic order.

"I admit that I established contact and relations with Konni Zilliacus, a representative of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and of their espionage service, who interfered in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia. I also admit that at the time of the Slovak rising, when I was sent to Slovakia by the Moscow leadership of the Party, I engaged in hostile activities, supported the interests of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and of the Benes Government in London, and betrayed the interests of the Czechoslovak people. Finally, I admit my responsibility for the death of Jan Sverma."

Presiding judge: "How is it that you, who have been a member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party for 30 years, could become a servant of the imperialists and the organizer and leader of a conspiracy against the Czechoslovak People's Democratic Republic?"

Slansky: "I came from a bourgeois family of a rich village merchant and this had influenced my personal traits and character. In 1921 I joined the Communist Party, still burdened with petty bourgeois opinions, which I never abandoned. This prevented me from becoming a real Communist. Therefore I did not act as a Communist, and I did not fulfill honorably the duties arising from my membership in the Communist Party."

"At the very beginning of my activities in the Communist Party I became guilty of small and gradually more serious opportunist deviations to the right and left. I moved away from the Party line, I wavered and behaved like an opportunist. I behaved as an opportunist when I faced the police and courts of the first bourgeois Republic. In 1927, when I was Regional

Party Secretary in Moravska Ostrava, I expressed Trotskyite opinions and took up a Trotskyite point of view. In 1935 I became an opportunist."

"I avoided exposure for so long by masking my hostile activities and acting politically in a two-faced manner. In public I played the part of a supporter of the Bolshevik line of the Party, while in reality I had abandoned the Bolshevik position. This is how I became an enemy of the Communist Party, an agent of the bourgeoisie, and that is why I did not really fight against the capitalists in defense of working class interests. This explains why, in the end, I came to fight actively against the Communist Party and the people's democratic order."

Presiding Judge: "I therefore put it to you that you never became and never were a real Communist."

Slansky: "Yes."

The Presiding Judge then asked Slansky when he had taken up the active struggle against the Communist Party.

Slansky: "In 1944, when the Moscow Party leadership sent me to the Ukrainian partisan staff as Czechoslovak political representative to organize the partisan movement in Czechoslovakia. At that time I established contact with an Anglo-U.S. agent, the former General Pika, and I followed his policy of betrayal of the Czechoslovak people: the Western imperialist line supported by the Benes Emigre Government, which aimed at using the Slovak national rising for the interests of the bourgeoisie."

(Slansky then admitted to 'cowardly and opportunist' behavior on occasions when he faced the police and courts of prewar Czechoslovakia.)

Presiding Judge: "Here is a protocol signed by you on July 8, 1924, on the occasion of a search

of your flat, where you offer information about a Communist student organization to the Police Commissioner instead of protesting against the search. Is this the sort of case you had in mind?"

Slansky: "Yes, this is the sort of case I had in mind."

Presiding Judge: "I also have another protocol from which it seems that on January 12, 1925, before the Examining Magistrate of the Prague Provincial Court, you abandoned your Communist ideas. Is this a similar case?"

Slansky: "Yes."

(The Judge then read parts of a letter written by Slansky in humble language appealing to the "bourgeois court" to postpone his sentence.)

Presiding Judge: "All this means that at the beginning of your political activity you behaved like a coward and an opportunist, and not like a Communist?"

Slansky: "Yes."

Slansky then explained the origin of his Trotskyite views, which had been prompted by the actions of Zinoviev and other Trotskyites: "At the time I expressed doubts about the policy of the Comintern with regard to the Chinese question, and I leaned toward Trotskyite opinions."

The Judge then told Slansky that "the notorious Trotskyite Evzen Klinger says in his deposition that he knew you as a Trotskyite in 1927." Slansky admitted that Klinger had been in a position to know his views, as he had cooperated with him and had helped him to an important position in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He had done this in full knowledge of Klinger's Trotskyite views.

The Judge then read from Slansky's prewar police record, where the fact of his Trotskyite connections had been noted in 1928, and Slansky

admitted that he had told the police that he had shouted "Long Live Trotsky!" in public in October 1927.

Describing his opportunistic activities, Slansky said that in 1935 he tried to "influence the Party to cooperate with reformist leaders and with Benes, who were agents of the bourgeoisie. I did not follow the correct party line of mobilizing the working class . . . because I wanted to influence the reformist leaders for common action, at least in some questions."

Presiding Judge: "What happened on the occasion of the election to the Presidency?"

Slansky: "Here, too, I failed to direct the Party toward the mobilization of the working population."

Judge: "What happened concerning the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty?"

Slansky: "At the time this treaty was concluded I propagated the illusion that Benes was an honest friend of the Soviet Union, although he was an imperialist agent. By this activity I made more difficult the Party's fight against reaction and fascism, I undermined the Party's mobility, and I aided the reformist leaders and the reactionary bourgeoisie, which even then was thinking in terms of the Munich betrayal."

Judge: "This means that you, in fact, also assisted the imperialist agent Benes."

Slansky: "Yes, I personally assisted the imperialist agent Benes."

Judge: "Your work as an agent of the bourgeoisie inside the Communist Party was fully acknowledged by Benes, as well as by his closest cooperators. Benes' agent and collaborator, Hubert Ripka, on the day of Czechoslovakia's occupation by Germany, included you in a list of Benes' followers for which he had organized, in agreement with Benes, the escape to the West.

We have here this list, found in Ripka's archives, where your name appears together with those of a number of well-known reactionaries."

Slansky: "Yes, I know this list, and it proves Benes and his associates wanted me to join the emigres in the West so they could make use of me for their plans."

Judge: "The letter accompanying the list of names states that Ripka had taken steps to save the lives of certain people. It also shows that Ripka had made arrangements for help with the British agents Eade and Miss Grant Duff, a relative of Winston Churchill. The British Legation in Prague gave instructions for your assistance. All this shows that Ripka's and Benes' interests coincided with the interests of the British ruling circles, who obviously had been well informed about you by Benes and Ripka."

Slansky: "Yes, all this is proved by the documents mentioned by you."

This intended help of the British Legation, however, had come too late, continued the Judge. At that time Slansky had already been in the Soviet Union, where he had gone as an "agent of the bourgeoisie and enemy of the Party." The Judge asked Slansky about his methods of fighting against the Party and against the Czechoslovak people during his stay in the USSR.

Slansky described how in 1944 he was sent by the Moscow leadership of the Party to the partisans general staff in the Ukraine in order to organize groups of partisans which were to be sent from the Soviet Union to Czechoslovakia. This task, entrusted to him by the Party, Slansky betrayed by establishing contacts with the "Anglo-American agent, the former General Pika, the then Czechoslovak military attache in Moscow."

Slansky informed Pika about problems connected with the partisan movement. Before Slansky left for Slovakia, Pika asked him to arrange that the partisan units should come under the then Czechoslovak military command in Banska Bystrica, headed by General Golian. Slansky admitted that he promised Pika to make the arrangements accordingly:

"By this action I sabotaged the directives given to me by the Party." It was Pika's intention to bring the partisan units under Golian's reactionary command, thus enabling it to control and direct the activities of the partisans. Pika wanted, in the interest of the Anglo-American imperialists and of Benes' London government, to reduce as much as possible the influence of the partisans upon the Slovak national rising, so the bourgeoisie could make use of the rising for the strengthening of its own position and influence."

Here the Presiding Judge remarked that Slansky's cooperation with the "Anglo-American agent Pika" was proved by a letter which the "spy Pika" had sent on Sept. 28, 1944, to the former Minister in the emigre government, the "traitor General Ingr," in London. In this letter Pika confirmed that his cooperation with Slansky was very good and that Slansky had promised to implement all Pika's directives.

Slansky stated that his cooperation with Pika represented "a complete betrayal of the interests of the people of Czechoslovakia."

Slansky proceeded to describe how, in Slovakia, where he arrived at the end of September 1944, he cooperated with various "unreliable, hostile, bourgeois nationalist elements." He established contact with Bohumil Lausman, an agent of the Anglo-American imperialists, whom he aided in performing his political work. He had

also abetted the reactionary work of the Golian command, which failed to supply the partisans with adequate equipment. He also kept silent in the face of a "slander campaign" conducted by reactionary army officers against the partisans.

Judge: "You have not yet mentioned another very serious crime you committed at the time of the Slovak national rising."

Slansky: "I have already said I committed a grave crime in connection with the death of Jan Sverma."

Judge: "Whom did Sverma represent in Slovakia and what were your relations with him?"

Slansky: "Sverma arrived in Slovakia with me as the political representative of the Moscow leadership of the Communist Party. He was one of the leading workers in the Communist Party and a close associate of the Party chairman, Gottwald. In Slovakia he helped to safeguard the progressive and democratic interests of the national rising. He assisted the Slovak people in their struggle against the Hitlerite invaders. After the suppression of the rising he withdrew with the partisans to the mountains in order to continue the fight. While Sverma firmly stood by the principles of the Party I had adopted a hostile attitude, having joined the other camp, where I acted as Sverma's political opponent."

The Judge then asked Slansky to describe Sverma's death.

Slansky: "It happened on November 10, 1944, during a march from the Chabenec Mountain in the low Tatras. On that day I failed to do all I could have done to save Sverma's life. Before the beginning of the march I had not given Sverma, who was of a physically weak constitution, sufficient cover. I had failed to make

arrangements to help him. At the beginning of the snowstorm Sverma walked slowly and was frequently forced to rest. This was also due to the fact that his boots were too small. He had been forced to put on these boots after he had lost his own pair.

"When the snowstorm rose, Sverma fell behind and I did not arrange for assistance for him. I feel, therefore, that I am responsible for Sverma's death and I admit this responsibility."

Slansky admitted that it would have been his duty to send a party of partisans to help Sverma. Sverma's death considerably weakened the position of the Slovaks and was a great loss to the Party and to the nation's fight for liberation. It was also a great loss to the present national reconstruction effort.

"Since I was in the hostile camp, Sverma's death assisted these hostile interests, and after his death my own hostile activities could no longer be so closely watched as could have been done by Sverma. Thus his death made it easier for me to continue in my hostile work."

The Judge then produced a pocket watch stolen from Sverma's body by one Sebesta, who was present when Sverma died. The Judge said that this man and other participants of that march in the mountains confirmed Slansky's responsibility for Sverma's death. Slansky affirmed that these witnesses were correct in making him responsible for Sverma's death.

The Prosecutor then asked Slansky what he had done to cover up his hostile activities in Slovakia, in his capacity as Secretary General of the Communist Party.

Slansky said he had pretended to the Party that he had fulfilled the tasks entrusted to him, and he had also claimed various services he had

allegedly rendered to the Slovak rising. He had seen to it that he was given publicity among the partisans, and he had concealed his hostile work in order to be able to continue it.

After the liberation of Czechoslovakia, he had misused his position as Secretary General to place various hostile elements in important positions in the political and economic administration and in the Party, thus forming a center of conspiracy. These people included many who had spent the war in exile, especially in Great Britain, mostly of bourgeois origin; Western intelligence services had recruited their agents from among that group and had used them after their return to Czechoslovakia. The imperialists had used various methods for recruiting the agents — in Great Britain, for example, they had formed a cover organization, a trust fund, financing emigres and thereby enlisting them as agents.

"I found myself on the same platform with these enemies and placed them in various important posts in the State administration and in the Party. Holding a high position in the Communist Party, I came to assume the lead of this Anti-State Conspiratorial Center."

Asked for whom he had procured such important posts, Slansky named the following: Geminder, "a Jewish bourgeois nationalist"; Marie Svermova, "a Czech bourgeois nationalist"; Josef Frank; Frejka, who had cooperated with British imperialist circles during the war; Svab and Pavel, who had become heads of the security department of the Party secretariat; Sling, "an agent of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists"; Mikulas Janda, who was given a job in Usti-on-Elbe; Viteslav Fuchs, who was found in a post in Ostrava; Hanus Lomsky, who was placed in Pilsen; and others not named.

All these were given positions within the Party apparatus, while others were found posts in the State and Economic Administration. In this endeavor Slansky was most effectively supported by Frank and Frejka, the latter combining a number of functions in the general secretariat with others in the State administration, thereby finding it easier to place numerous enemies within the economic organization.

Among those placed in the economic ministries Slansky named Fischl, who cooperated with the Nazis during the occupation; Margolius and Loebel, "imperialist agents"; Edouard Outrata, Director of the Brno Zbrojovka Works during the first Republic, Minister in the government-in-exile of Dr. Benes in London, later Secretary General of the State Economic Council of the Prague government, and finally Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Office; Josef Goldmann, who became an agent of the British imperialists during the war and later Deputy Chairman of the State Planning Office, as well as others.

Slansky also admitted placing other enemies in different ministries, such as Svab and Pavel in the Ministry of the Interior, Clementis, in the Foreign Ministry, who assumed an anti-Soviet attitude as early as 1939 and later collaborated with Dr. Benes and with the French and other intelligence services; Reicin, an agent of the Gestapo and of the Anglo-U.S. Intelligence Service, as well as of Tito — He, with Slansky's help, became Deputy Minister of Defense and collaborated with various enemies, such as General Bocek and others. Slansky also named Simone, "a typical cosmopolitan and agent of the French Intelligence Service . . . these people formed the leaders of the conspiracy." Slansky was asked how he had bound these people in loyalty to his

conspiratorial activities. He replied that they all realized that they owed their positions to him, that he knew their "shady past" and had nevertheless promoted them to their posts.

Slansky was then confronted with a variety of documents in possession of the court, produced to illustrate his "methods of recruitment." The first incriminated Svab of criminal activities in a concentration camp at Slansky's instructions. Slansky admitted this.

The second listed Frank as a war criminal, wanted for collaboration with the Nazis in concentration camps. Frank had testified that he was bound in gratitude to Slansky for having covered up these activities. The document in which Frank was named was an international list of war criminals, written in English, and containing his name as Number 148. Slansky admitted this.

The third document proved the hostile activities of Fischl. The fourth proved Slansky's agreement to Fischl's receiving an important post. Slansky admitted that during the pretrial investigations the documents had been shown to him.

The fifth paper proved the hostile work of Simone, and the sixth was a letter by Slansky to the Titoite Minister, Djilas, asking for all possible help for Simone on his trip to Yugoslavia. Slansky pleaded guilty to having secured an important official post for him.

The seventh paper showed that the Party screening commission had described Sling as a "superficial idler and shirker in Party work, as well as a director"; Slansky had, nevertheless, written to the Brno Party Secretariat that that was not an official judgment of the General Secretariat. Slansky pleaded guilty to this.

The Prosecutor next asked Slansky to explain how his Conspiratorial Center "was linked with the Western imperialist powers or imperialist circles and in what manner these circles directed the activities of the Center."

Slansky said one link had been various people who at different times had become agents of the imperialist intelligence services of Great Britain, the United States, France, and Yugoslavia. Another link had been diverse organizations such as the Zionists and Freemasons—all interconnected and ruled by the Anglo-U.S. imperialists. With the help of these links, the imperialists had been able to influence and direct the work of the Conspiratorial Center.

Numerous members of the Center had maintained contact with the imperialists and Slansky began by naming Clementis, collaborating with the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and an agent of the French Intelligence Service; Geminder, serving British Intelligence and cooperating with Israeli diplomatists who "in fact were U.S. agents"; Fischl, also a collaborator of the Israeli diplomatists; Reicin, an agent of the Gestapo and of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists; Loebl and Margolius, both Anglo-U.S. agents; London, a U.S. Intelligence agent; and Simone, working for the French and Anglo-U.S. Intelligence. There were also others. Slansky admitted to having himself maintained contact with Mr. Zilliacus, "who in fact was a representative of the Anglo-U.S., but primarily of the U.S. ruling circles."

Slansky then proceeded to answer numerous questions about his contacts with Zilliacus from which evidence the following picture emerged: Slansky described Zilliacus as primarily a representative of the U.S. imperialists because "Great Britain today serves the predatory interests of the U.S. imperialists who in their lust for world

domination have subjugated Great Britain. The British Intelligence Service is today a branch of Washington Intelligence.

Slansky met Zilliacus for the first time toward the end of 1946 when Zilliacus was introduced to him by Pavel Kavan, an official of the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry. On that occasion he gave Zilliacus "espionage information." The second meeting took place some time in the autumn of 1947 when Zilliacus was received by Slansky at the General Secretariat. At that time Slansky knew Zilliacus' anti-Soviet attitude and his "hostile activities in Czechoslovakia and other democracies."

In the summer of 1947 Frejka had come to Slansky to convey a suggestion from Zilliacus that he, Frejka, should attend an economic conference in Britain. Although Slansky knew the anti-Soviet tendency of the conference, he agreed to Frejka going there. Frejka was present at the meeting with Zilliacus.

Slansky could not remember details of the conversation but he recalled that Zilliacus asked him various questions concerning Czechoslovakia's foreign policy, internal situation, and economic problems. "I answered his questions and gave him espionage information in so doing." Frejka also answered questions and gave similar information. "From these answers, Zilliacus was able to conclude that I held views different from the Communist Party line and I was maintaining an anti-Soviet attitude."

Illustrating this point, Slansky said Zilliacus emphasized the need for economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the capitalist countries and Slansky agreed with this view. "I was in favor of extending economic links with the capitalist west." Zilliacus was also able to infer Slansky's subversive views on his attitude toward

the reactionaries, on the situation within the "National Front," and on the relationship between the Communists and the Social Democrats.

"I remember Zilliacus asking me about my views as regards a "people's democracy" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat." I stated that I thought the system of people's democracy to be fundamentally different from that of the dictatorship of the proletariat, thereby intimating to Zilliacus that I supported the counterrevolutionary concept of a specific Czechoslovak road to socialism."

Slansky saw the significance of this "harmony of views" with this representative of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists in the agreement to cooperate in the future. This cooperation actually took place. Slansky instructed Frejka to place any information of economic interest at the disposal of Mr. Zilliacus whenever he asked for it. He also telephoned Clementis to give Zilliacus information on foreign policy. "I thus enabled Zilliacus to obtain through Frejka and Clementis important espionage information."

Asked about the aims of Mr. Zilliacus, Slansky stated that Zilliacus pursued the goal of Anglo-U.S. imperialists — that of separating Czechoslovakia from the USSR and the peace camp.

Since Slansky had worked for those aims before meeting Zilliacus, the Prosecutor suggested that the agreement with Zilliacus merely specified the methods and aims of subversive activities. Slansky agreed that the Conspiratorial Center had been operative since 1945 and that it had maintained contact with Western imperialist powers and intelligence services before the meeting with Zilliacus. But the contacts became stronger as a result of this personal link, through which Slansky had received support "and a clear target." In essence, the agreement amounted to

aiding the Anglo-U.S. imperialists in their plan to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia, liquidate the people's democracy, and modify Czechoslovak foreign policy.

The methods to be used "were similar to those employed by the Tito clique for the restoration of capitalism in Yugoslavia, that is the use of hostile elements inside the Communist Party." Zilliacus was interested in the disintegration of the Party. The imperialists used similar methods in other peoples democracies which Zilliacus frequently visited.

Slansky amplified his information about his contact with Zilliacus. He maintained written contact with him through Dr. Eduard Goldstuecker of the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, and through Geminder of the International Department of the General Secretariat of the Party. He also had another personal meeting with Zilliacus.

Through Goldstuecker he received various items of information from Zilliacus. He also enabled Zilliacus to publish, in "Svetove Rozhledy," various articles propagating counterrevolutionary views in Czechoslovakia. A later meeting with Zilliacus took place in June of 1948 when Zilliacus again visited Slansky at the General Secretariat. Geminder was present when problems of foreign policy, domestic affairs, and so forth, were discussed. Again Slansky had passed on "espionage information" to Zilliacus.

Since that meeting took place after the February 1948 revolution, Zilliacus wanted to satisfy himself whether he, Slansky, still adhered to the same anti-State concept as before and to find out what subversive activities were being carried out.

Asked about the aims which his subversive group pursued in collaboration with Zilliacus,

Slansky said: "In collaboration with Zilliacus we were working for the aims of the Anglo-American imperialists, the aims of the aggressive bloc of the American and British imperialists, these aims being the restoration of capitalism and the preparation of a new world war, as it is today being prepared by the imperialists. The aim was to get Czechoslovakia, which emancipated itself from the imperialist sphere in 1945, back into that sphere, to make the country dependent on the imperialists, as under the first Republic, to enable it to be exploited by the imperialists, to foil the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia, to enslave the Czechoslovaks once again, so that industrialists, bankers and landed gentry could exploit them once again and so that foreign imperialism should profit from the toil of the people.

"The aim was to draw Czechoslovakia into the preparations for a new world war which the imperialists were preparing — principally the U.S. imperialists — a war against the USSR, the people's democracies, and hence also Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people. By my hostile work I aided these barbarous plans of the Western imperialists, these present day successors of Hitler.

"It was the aim of the imperialists to draw Czechoslovakia into the preparations for a third world war because they attached great importance to Czechoslovakia. For one thing Czechoslovakia is an economically powerful country, with a highly strategic position in Central Europe; lastly, as a neighbor of the USSR, she would serve the imperialists as a springboard for their attack on the USSR.

"The imperialists pursued similar aims in the other people's democracies. There, too, they used Zilliacus. He specialized on the people's

democracies, travelled about the people's democracies, made contacts in these countries under the mask of a left wing Social Democrat, a mask he assumed in order better to conceal his hostile activity and to be better able to interfere in the internal affairs of the popular democratic countries, just as the imperialists used to interfere in Czechoslovakia during the bourgeois first Republic.

"Zilliacus would travel about these countries, make contacts with right wing elements in the social democratic parties and with hostile elements in the Communist parties—such as he did with me in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, with Gomulka in Bulgaria, with Rajk in Hungary—and these hostile elements he then made into his agents."

Slansky was then asked about his contacts with Moshe Pijade. He stated that when Pijade came to Prague with a Yugoslav delegation early in 1948, he was called to the Yugoslav Embassy under a pretext, and there Pijade mentioned conflicts between the CPSU and the Tito clique and sounded him on his attitude. Slansky made it clear to Pijade that he himself stood on the same hostile platform as Tito's clique. Pijade must have known of Slansky's attitude from Zilliacus; there had been nothing accidental about the interview, Slansky said.

A deposition by Mordecai Oren was then read in court to the effect that Pijade had told him that Slansky supported Tito's policy. Slansky agreed that this evidence confirmed his own statement.

In reply to the Prosecutor, Slansky agreed he had been in indirect contact with Tito via Zilliacus and the Western imperialists and in direct contact with Tito through Pijade.

Three letters produced in evidence — one from Goldstuecker to Slansky, enclosing a letter from Zilliacus; another from Slansky to Geminder, enclosing a translation of Zilliacus letter; and the third from Frejka to Goldstuecker, with information to be passed on to Zilliacus — were accepted by Slansky as genuine and as proof of his contacts with Zilliacus.

Asked to describe the way in which he and his conspiratorial group had worked on Titoist lines, Slansky explained that a widespread network of Titoist agents had been allowed to establish itself in Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, he had guided the Party toward the application of Titoist Yugoslav experience at the expense of Soviet experience.

Delegations had been sent to Yugoslavia and had made propaganda for Tito's regime on their return. Long term trade agreements had been concluded with Yugoslavia and although Yugoslavia had soon failed to supply the stipulated raw materials, he had repeatedly advocated an indulgent policy and the delivery to Yugoslavia of Czechoslovak industrial manufacturers in spite of Yugoslavia's failure to honor her part of the bargain. Economic relations with Yugoslavia had been more extensive than with any other country and had been at the expense of relations with the USSR. They had damaged Czechoslovakia and economically buttressed Tito's regime.

Even after the Cominform resolution about Yugoslavia, Slansky said he continued cooperation with Tito. Yugoslav spies were allowed to operate in Czechoslovakia to the detriment of Czechoslovakia's interests, and Titoist agents were allowed to infiltrate into the army to undermine its fighting efficiency and loosen its alliance with the Soviet army. When an anti-Tito emigration began to form in Czechoslovakia, Slansky

sky, with Geminder's help, introduced Trotskyite and criminal elements into its ranks. His cooperation with Tito "served chiefly the interests of the Anglo-American imperialists—in particular the U.S. imperialists—because the Tito clique was an agency mainly of the U.S. imperialists."

The Prosecutor then asked Slansky to elaborate his admission that he had placed Zionists in important posts. Slansky explained that he did so "because the Zionists were conducting hostile activity aimed at the liquidation of the popular democratic regime in Czechoslovakia. I collaborated with them and I placed various Zionist elements into important posts in the administrative, economic, and Party apparatus. Into the Party apparatus I placed such Zionists as, for instance, Bedrich Geminder, Ludvik Frejka, Otto Sling, Landa, Fuchs, Lomsky, Moskovic, Polak and others. These Zionists in turn placed other Zionists into various posts in the administration and economic offices and through them I was linked with the Zionist organizations."

The significance of this, he said, lay in the fact that Zionist organizations in Czechoslovakia were in turn connected with similar Zionist organizations in the capitalist countries. "The whole world wide Zionist movement was, in fact, led and ruled by the imperialists—in particular the U.S. imperialists through the American Zionists. For American Zionists, who as in other countries are the financially most powerful and politically most influential Zionists, form part of the ruling imperialist circles of America."

The Zionist organization moreover, was a channel through which the imperialists carried out extensive espionage and subversive work in Czechoslovakia. The Joint organization in Prague was "a branch of the American Zionists" and played an important part in various hostile

machinations. One of these was "the abuse of the emigration scheme under which Jewish citizens left for the capitalist countries, thereby removing from Czechoslovakia unjustifiably large property values and causing grave economic damage to Czechoslovakia."

Slansky admitted that he endorsed the legal existence in Czechoslovakia, both before and after February, 1948, of these nationalist bourgeois Zionist organizations. Though his attention was drawn to the hostile work conducted by them he protected them: "I deliberately shielded them by abusing the campaign against so-called anti-Semitism. By proposing that a big campaign be waged against anti-Semitism, by magnifying the danger of anti-Semitism, and by proposing various measures against anti-Semitism—such as the writing of articles, the publication of pamphlets, the holding of lectures, and so forth—I criminally prevented the waging of a campaign against Zionism and the revelation of the hostile character of Zionist ideology, and the unmasking of the hostile activity of Zionists and Zionist organizations."

Slansky said he had discussed these matters with Geminder, Svermova, Frank, and others. In addition to the campaign against anti-Semitism there had also been a "press publicity drive for the state of Israel without it being pointed out that Israel was a bourgeois state and in fact represented the most advanced outpost of the American imperialists in the Near East. I deliberately shielded Zionism by publicly speaking out against the people who pointed to the hostile activities of Zionists and by describing these people as anti-Semites—just as did my collaborators—so that these people were in the end prosecuted and persecuted and sometimes even excluded from the Party, as happened to certain

members of the central secretariat. I thus created an atmosphere in which people were afraid — even prominent officials in the State apparatus — to oppose Zionism and Zionist organizations."

With regard to the emigration scheme — in which Geminder and Fischl played important parts — he had condoned the exportation from Czechoslovakia of excessive quantities of valuable property. In this he and his group collaborated with members of the Israeli delegation, such as the Israeli Minister Ueberall, "who is in fact an agent of the U.S. imperialists."

Another field in which his conspiratorial group worked through the Zionists was foreign trade. Here Lobel and Margolius played important parts. Czechoslovak foreign trade was misused to the advantage of Zionist organizations at home and abroad, thereby supporting the bourgeois state of Israel. Czechoslovakia suffered economic damage as a result of her goods being sold at unfavorable prices, lower than in the capitalist market, while goods from capitalist countries were imported at high prices. Huge profits went to Zionist organizations and benefited Israel. He had justified these transactions under the pretext of an "export offensive" in the United States with the alleged purpose of gaining dollar and sterling currency.

The State Prosecutor submitted documentary evidence pointing to these criminal activities. Slansky, when asked whether he recognized these documents said he did not, but admitted that from all that had already been said it was obvious that his associates Lobel and Margolius had been cooperating with the Israeli diplomats who had acted as agents of the U.S. imperialists and with U.S. Ambassador Steinhardt. The State Prosecutor drew the conclusion that Slansky and

his group were actually cooperating directly with U.S. official circles through the representatives of the Zionist organizations and Israeli diplomats. Asked by the Prosecutor which of his associates had been cooperating in this direction, Slansky mentioned Geminder, Loebel, Frejka, Fischl.

Prosecutor: "In your subversive activities have you also made use of other organizations?"

Slansky: "Yes."

Prosecutor: "Which were they?"

Slansky: "Freemasons. The Anti-State Conspiratorial Center made use in their activities of Zionist organizations as well as Freemasons and their lodges. I myself had connections with Freemasons for example, with Machon and Dr. Vancura, who were prominent officials of Freemason lodges."

Slansky said Vancura had important connections with Freemasons abroad, particularly in Great Britain. Slansky knew that Vancura maintained these connections and he also knew that these connections served for anti-state and espionage purposes. "I wish to stress," said Slansky, "that the hostile character of Freemason lodges was emphasized by the fact that Dr. Eduard Benes, the imperialist agent, was also a member."

The court was then handed a letter written by Dr. Vancura in which he informed Slansky about his journey to Great Britain in May, 1948. Vancura mentioned in his letter that he had succeeded in meeting leading members of the British Grand Lodge who had received his information with great interest and trust. Slansky wrote his reply to that letter thanking Vancura. Slansky, referring to the letter, reiterated that he had learned that Vancura had been engaged in anti-state activities because of his connections abroad.

The next exhibit submitted to the court was a letter written by Machon in which he stated that when founding new Freemason lodges after 1945 he always sought Slansky's advice. Asked what this letter meant, Slansky replied that it referred to his cooperation with Machon. In Machon's notes which had been found it was stated that Slansky's attitude toward Freemasons was favorable, and Machon had stated elsewhere in his notes that before making a decision it was necessary to contact Slansky who would furnish explanations.

Asked what this meant, Slansky said that against the advice of the Communist Party chairman he had maintained contacts with Freemasons with whom he had collaborated and had facilitated their activities.

Judge: "We are now coming to a new phase of your anti-state activities. How and in which sectors have you and your associates carried on anti-state, that is, disruptive, activities in preparation for the liquidation of our people's democratic regime?"

Slansky: "I carried on these activities together with my associates in various sectors, particularly within the Communist Party in the national economy, the army, foreign service, and in the security forces."

Judge: "Describe now how you and your associates carried on hostile activities within the Communist Party."

Slansky then described his activities which consisted in infiltrating hostile elements in various sections of the Party apparatus particularly in the central committee. Many hostile elements were appointed to important positions and with his help, such enemies as Svermova, Geminder, Svab, Frejka, and Frank had been put in charge of various important sections of

the central committee. Slansky also saw to it that Bedrich, Hajek, and Jarmila Taussigova became deputy leaders in the Cadre section; Zavodsky in the security section, Jiri Karny, and Goldman in the economic section. In important regions, enemies like Sling, Fuchs, Lomsky, Landa, Moskovic, Polak, and others were appointed by Slansky. These people worked inside the Party. By appointing these hostile elements within the Party, Slansky tried to usurp power over the Party in order to restore capitalism.

Slansky and his associates also tried to change the revolutionary character of the Communist Party by using bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements. This was done by concentrating on recruitment of bourgeois property owners. Attempts had thus been made to change the social structure of the Communist Party membership.

At the end of 1947, Slansky addressed a letter to Communist members of all national committees asking them to recruit new members for the Communist Party from the bourgeois and petty bourgeois ranks. After February, 1948, Slansky facilitated the infiltration of careerist elements who had been joining the Communist Party in order to gain personal ends. In such a way Slansky and his associates tried to break up the party. "In doing so we by-passed and deceived the chairman of the Party, Klement Gottwald, and isolated Klement Gottwald in his leadership of the Party."

Slansky admitted that he introduced "wrong, anti-Party methods" in the Party apparatus; he particularly failed to use "the method of persuasion." He thus led the Party away from its primary task of political work among the masses, and the links between working class and Party were weakened as a result.

"Under my leadership the administrative machinery of the Party assumed powers exceeding its function and I and my associates interfered with State authorities, and economic bodies without authority, without the knowledge of the Ministers concerned. We interfered in matters concerning cadres; I myself supported the appointment of various hostile elements, transferred them at will, promoted them, and we issued hostile directives to the workers of these bureaus.

"In this way I distorted the leading role of the Party. I by-passed Party authorities; I solved many important political and organizational matters on my own without presenting them to the Party chairman and Party presidium. In this way I isolated the chairman and the Presidium from the rest of the Party."

"I sabotaged the application of the experiences of the all-union Communist Party.

Asked to give examples of his subversive activities in the Party, Slansky said that on many occasions the Economic Department under Frejka and Jancik interfered in the work of various ministries and industries. The International Department, under Geminder, and the Security Department under Svab and Pavel, meddled with the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Interior, and National Security.

"We decided many important matters concerning cadres without consulting the Party Presidium," and in other instances important information with regard to the appointees was withheld from the Party presidium. Slansky recalled that on one occasion he had suppressed a report on Party recruitment in the Louny District which recorded the fact that bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements, in particular, Kulaks, were joining the Party in considerable numbers.

"This also went on in other regions and districts, it was, in fact, general. But I withheld this information from the Party chairman, Gottwald."

The introduction of bourgeois elements was directed at changing the revolutionary character of the Party, and we could rely on these elements in our anti-State activities. Like Tito in Yugoslavia, we tried to transform the Communist Party into an instrument for the restoration of capitalism."

The Prosecutor then presented to the court a circular directive sent by Slansky to Party officials in 1947, asking them to recruit bourgeois and petty bourgeois elements as Party members. Slansky recognized this document.

In the economic sector Slansky and his associates aimed at "damaging the Czechoslovak economy, preventing full utilization of industrial resources, hindering the development of socialism in industry, and linking the Czechoslovak economy with capitalist states." This policy was carried out by placing hostile elements in important positions, such as Loeb, Margolius, Fischl, Ivan Holy, former Deputy Minister of Industry and Director General of the Leather Industry; Frantisek Fabinger, former Director General of the Metal Industry; Svatopluk Rada, former Deputy Minister of Industry; Dr. Jaroslav Jicinsky, former General Manager of Foundries; Jiri Karny, former Director General of the Chemical Industry; Barta, former Director General of the Power Industry; Smejla, General Manager of the Kovospol Export Company. Vojtech Jancik, a member of the Party Economic Department, was particularly active in influencing cadres policy and had placed hostile elements in various sectors of the economy. A wide network of various economic commissions concen-

trated numerous bourgeois elements which influenced economic policy and tried to replace State economic authorities. The Party was diverted from its main tasks of mobilizing the workers for plan fulfillment.

Slansky said he and his associates had conducted hostile activities in all sectors of economic life. In the field of planning his associates Frejka, Goldman, and Outrata, drew up plans in which final targets were set down at low figures. It was their aim to hold up the development of heavy industry and the exploitation of indigenous Czechoslovak raw material. This caused great damage to Czechoslovakia's national economy. Full use was not made of the industry's productive capacity and no provisions were made for the fulfillment of production tasks.

Slansky said he had discussed the draft of the 5-year plan with his associate Frejka toward the end of 1947 in his villa in Prague. His hostile activities were designed to hold up the development of the heavy industry and to expand light industries, although these already had a productive capacity far beyond the needs of the country.

This applied particularly to the textile and the ready-made clothing industry in which new factories were set up. This made it necessary to import wool and cotton and leather from capitalist countries. At that time prices of these imports were rising, while the prices of the manufactured goods were falling. This caused great financial losses and made Czechoslovak industry dependent on the capitalist markets. The hold-up in the development of the heavy industry resulted in a shortage of machinery and equipment for power stations which was needed not only by Czechoslovakia

but also by the people's democracies.

Thus, the economic development of other democratic countries was also hampered. Moreover, numerous new factory buildings were erected although the productive capacity of existing buildings could have been increased by the introduction of second shifts. These activities absorbed a considerable labor force and caused shortages of building material.

Slansky went on to describe his sabotage activities in the field of iron ore production. Although there were considerable deposits of iron ore in Czechoslovakia, ores were imported from capitalist countries while the development of indigenous deposits was held up. The same applied to non-ferrous metals and to the production of substitute materials. All this was designed to tie Czechoslovakia closer to capitalist economy.

At this point the Prosecutor produced a letter from Dr. Pelnar, a mining expert, who had written to Slansky recommending the mining of basic industrial raw materials in Czechoslovakia, particularly coal, iron ore, and non-ferrous metals. Slansky admitted that he had received this letter and said that he had simply filed it.

Other sabotage committed by Slansky and his associates consisted, according to his own evidence, in the refusal to adopt Soviet experiences for the reorganizations of industries. Hence the industry labored under the disadvantages of large administrative staffs which put up production costs and deprived factories of considerable manpower reserves. These activities were mainly in the hands of his associates, Frank and Frejka.

In the field of foreign trade Slansky and his associates also had done their utmost to organize sabotage and cause damage. This applied par-

ticularly to trade relations with the USSR and the people's democracies. In this sector the co-defendants Loebl and Margolius had been particularly active. Owing to their Zionist convictions, these associates cooperated with various American agents and endeavored to link the Czechoslovak economy to the capitalist West. Machinery and equipment was bought in the capitalist West although it could have been supplied at more favorable prices by the USSR.

On the other hand, deliveries to the Soviet Union were sabotaged by charging exorbitant prices or by delaying delivery dates. Orders from the Soviet Union were rejected under the pretext that Czechoslovak productive capacity was insufficient, although these goods could easily have been manufactured.

At this point the prosecutor produced a letter from Comrade Blazek, the Czechoslovak trade representative in Moscow, to Slansky, in which Blazek cited concrete examples of high prices charged by Czechoslovakia to the Soviet Union. Blazek asked in this letter to be recalled from his post for, as a Communist, he felt he could not continue under such conditions.

Once again Slansky admitted having received this letter and to simply filing it. He and his associates made it possible for foreign trade to remain in the hands of bourgeois capitalist elements, former wholesale merchants, who were selling Czechoslovak goods at low prices yet amassing huge profits. With these profits the treacherous emigres abroad and their fight against the people's democratic regime were financed.

Continuing in his evidence, Slansky admitted hostile acts also in the field of agricultural production. He and his associates sabotaged the establishment of socialism in the agricultural

sector and strengthened the position of class enemies among the farmers. They had deliberately caused dissatisfaction inside agricultural cooperatives, endeavoring to undermine the government's agricultural policy. Together with Frank and Sling he had supported hostile elements in agriculture. Implementing this policy he issued a circular letter addressed to national committees asking them to accept into the Party various bourgeois elements, including Kulaks. This policy had enabled Kulaks to infiltrate into agricultural cooperatives.

Slansky continued by admitting that together with Frank he had made it possible for hostile elements to worm their way into state farms and the State Forests Administration. These elements included former estate owners and hostile people who were expelled from the Party after February. Sling also undermined the cadre policy, placed former estate owners in important positions in the Ministry of Agriculture or other administrative positions in the Ministry of Agriculture or other administrative posts. Such elements were able to find their way into the Ministry of Agriculture as a result of Slansky's own subversive policy.

Slansky was then questioned specifically about the activities of Smrkovsky, former Director-General of State Forests and State Farms, who, according to the defendant, carried out widespread sabotage, and appointed and protected hostile elements within his sector. Slansky admitted knowing of this and refraining from taking action because it all served the interests of the Conspiratorial Center. "We carried out such hostile activities in various sectors of agriculture, we interfered with agricultural production, and so forth." The expected results, however, had not been obtained mainly because that

nefarious work "was foiled by the correct policy laid down by Gottwald."

Asked by the Prosecutor to describe his sabotage activities in the field of foreign policy, Slansky said, "Our hostile activities consisted above all in appointments of cadres hostile to the regime. Proposals in this respect were prepared by my associates, Clementis, London, and Geminder. In making proposals for appointments positive qualities of the persons concerned were underlined and their hostile character was not mentioned."

"By this method we managed to appoint many hostile elements to important positions in the foreign service. Among them were Dr. Houdek, a Slovak Bourgeois Nationalist who was made permanent Czechoslovak delegate to the United Nations; Horvath, also a Slovak Bourgeois Nationalist whom we helped to obtain the post of Czechoslovak Ambassador in Hungary; the Trotskyist Dufek, who became Czechoslovak minister to Turkey; the Jewish Bourgeois Nationalist Goldstuecker, who was made Minister to Israel; Dr. Schwarz, who was Consul in Milan; Richard Slansky, who was Deputy to the Ambassador in Warsaw, and a number of other people, among them, Otto Fischl, who was made head of the Czechoslovak diplomatic mission in Berlin."

"We also pushed other similar elements into important positions. This was done by my associates Geminder, Hajek, and London, who formed a commission for the appointment of hostile personalities in diplomatic services. I also influenced — through my associates Clementis and Geminder — appointments inside the Foreign ministry."

"Evzen Klinger and I supported the Trotskyist group inside the ministry which was headed by Dufek and Hajdu which undermined the min-

istry. We also made it possible for hostile elements to be appointed to the diplomatic service abroad so that they could, after February, 1948, join the emigres in the capitalist countries and fight against the popular democratic regime."

"By this we helped foreign espionage services to recruit agents from among the ranks of these emigres. By this method I assisted the teach-erous Czechoslovak emigres abroad in their activities on behalf of the Imperialist powers against the Czechoslovak popular democratic regime. All this was designed to influence foreign policy toward cooperation with the Western capitalist powers and toward the separation of Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union and from the people's democracies."

"My associate Clementis and others used their position for cooperation with Western capitalist diplomats. They went out of their way to help them, even beyond their official duties. These hostile activities made possible the existence of various so-called cultural institutes such as the American, British, and French institutes which were set up on the strength of unilateral cultural agreements concluded with capitalist countries. On the other hand, my associates held up negotiations with popular democratic countries, such as those with Hungary, with respect to the position of Hungarians in Slovakia and Slovaks in Hungary."

"My anti-State group also conducted anti-State activities inside the army. These activities threatened the development of the army as a popular and democratic force and they undermined the army's fighting fitness. Our activities consisted above all in sabotaging the implementation of the Kosice Government program. This program laid down that the army should be purged of reactionary officers and

that the new officers corps should consist of reliable and democratic elements.

"My associates in the army—Reicin, Bocek, Drgac and others—sabotaged the purge of the army. The purge commissions which were set up after 1945 were composed mainly of reactionary officers which made it possible for old reactionary officers to be taken into the new Czechoslovak army.

"My anti-State group made it possible for the army command to remain in the hands of a number of high ranking reactionary officers—among them Bocek, who was Chief of the General Staff, and Klapalek, who was Commander of the Prague garrison. Even after February, 1948, I did nothing to remove these reactionary officers. On the contrary, I cooperated with them and made their hostile activities possible."

After Bocek's recall from the post of Chief of Staff, Slansky admitted to having supported the appointment of General Drgac although "I knew he had been the General Secretary of the National Solidarity Movement after Munich and that he was a reactionary officer."

Sling had cooperated with leading reactionary officers in Moravia, such as General Novak, commander of the Brno Military District. Slansky himself had taken part in a meeting between Sling and Novak. Reicin had been Slansky's main confederate in the army, particularly in cadre questions. Reicin had presented proposals of appointment for high commands to the Supreme Defense Council and had withheld information about hostile elements whom the conspirators wished to see in important positions.

Reicin and Slansky had also been members of the Party's Military Cadres Commission. Slansky admitted he had sabotaged the government pro-

gram with regard to the Army, although he had known that the Army was to be built up in accordance with Soviet precepts "Communist Party organizations were not directed to fight against reactionary officers. On the contrary we made it possible for hostile elements to enter these organizations.

"I and my confederates tried to prevent the Army's reconstruction and in accordance with the Kosice Government program and in a democratic spirit. We also tried to prevent the purge of reactionary officers. We were interested in maintaining old traditions in the new army. This came to the fore in a talk between Reicin and Benes when Benes expressed his opposition to the purge of reactionary officers and to the prosecution of imperialist agents by military intelligence.

"Our subversive activities in the Army were part of our preparation for the restoration of capitalism and for the liquidation of the People's Democratic Order which weakened the fighting potential of the Czechoslovak Army and threatened its development as a People's Democratic Force.

"In the sector of national security, our anti-State center held relatively strong positions. I interfered with the security sector mainly through Karel Svab." Again Slansky and his confederates placed hostile elements in important positions in the Security Service. Many officials of the Security Commission of the Central Secretariat of the Party had been transferred to the Ministries of Interior and National Security.

These included Josef Pavel, who had become Deputy Minister of Interior and later Deputy Minister of National Security, and who "was one of those Trotskyite members of the Inter-

national Brigades in Spain and who was a member of the Czechoslovak Army in the West during the War." Others were the former International Brigade member Osvald Zavodsky; Oskar Vales and Svab himself.

As early as 1945, Slansky placed the Trotskyite Stepan Placek in the Security Service although he knew of his pro-Nazi activities during the War. Later Placek cooperated with Titoist agents. "My confederates worked for the inclusion of old police and constabulary cadres in the new Security Service, cadres which had served the bourgeoisie in its struggle against the working class.

"Newly recruited members of the Security Service included many unreliable elements and reliable men of working class origin were left in unimportant positions, not promoted, and subordinated to the old unreliable elements. The Security Service's ability to act was thus being undermined.

"My confederates relied on the old unreliable elements and thus protected the activities of the Conspiratorial Center. For example, Svab concentrated in his hands all the material about the U.S. agent, Noel Field, who was exposed in the Rajk trial in Budapest and who also interfered in Czechoslovakia where he had connections with some members of the Anti-State Center. Karel Svab was thus able to protect these members of the anti-state sector.

"After the Rajk trial, I myself tried to spread the view that the Czechoslovak Communist Party—which had been legal whereas the Hungarian Party had been illegal—could not have been penetrated by imperialist agents and I thus tried to divert the attention of the Security authorities from checking and prosecuting hostile elements. Some of my associates showed

police reports on members of the anti-state Center to the persons concerned in order to warn them." Like the army, Communist Party units in the Security Service were permitted to recruit hostile members.

In reply to the prosecutor's questions about his anti-State activities other than those mentioned in his evidence today, Slansky said: "In my hostile activities I relied on the support of various hostile organizations such as the Zionists and Free-Masons and on hostile elements among partisans, false trade unionists, and so forth. I made the existence of false partisan units possible. I cooperated with capitalists like Ptacnik and other hostile elements like Steiner-Vesely, Vavra-Starik, Trojan, and others.

"Like Tito in Yugoslavia I relied on demoralized members of the International Brigade in Spain. I also cooperated with various false trade union elements such as the Boj group which was, in reality, directed by Trotskyites such as Goetz and Pluhar, and I became Honorary Chairman of this group." The International Brigade members who collaborated with me included Pavel, Zavodsky, Hoffmann and Hromadka. I cannot recall the others at the moment."

"In view of the class conditions of Czechoslovakia and of the strength of the Communist Party and of the working class, I knew that the plans of the pre-February reactionaries, centered around Benes and directed by him and aimed at destroying the people's democratic order by means of an open coup, had little prospect of success, I, therefore, directed the work of the anti-State center in another way—in Tito's way—by trying to make use of hostile forces within the Communist Party. We, there-

fore, placed these hostile forces hidden in the Communist Party in important positions."

"Even though I knew that their plans had little chance of success, our anti-State center helped the pre-February reactionaries led by Benes.

"I cooperated with Bohumil Lausman and Blazej Vilim who were leading representatives of the Right Wing Social Democrats. Clementis collaborated with Benes; Loebel with Ripka; Svermova with Horakova.

"I want to stress that there was no substantial difference between our program and Benes platform . . . That we serve the same interests of the Western imperialists. In February, 1948, the Western imperialists hoped for the destruction of the People's Democratic Order by the reactionary forces grouped around Benes while the anti-State center represented a sort of reserve."

Continuing his evidence, Slansky said that after February, 1948, the anti-State center became the main power in preparing the liquidation of the People's Democratic Regime. The Center's activities had grown in scope, its power positions had been strengthened within the state economic apparatus. The chief object was the usurping of power in the Party and State. "I was isolating the President; I cheated him. I was pushing his leading officials in the background, and strengthening my own position."

Prosecutor: "And popularized yourself."

Slansky: "Yes."

Prosecutor "How did you strengthen your own position?"

Slansky: "In addition to what I have already told, I claimed credit for instance for the February events by falsifying the February history and by taking credit which belonged to Klement Gottwald. I did so in various publications and

in the press, and my associates acted in a similar way. Thus, for instance, in a publication entitled 'The Victorious February in Photography,' I authorized the caption under my own picture to the effect that I directed all the February events and did not show the really leading part played by Klement Gottwald.

"In a similar way I ordered a film about the February events in which I played the leading part and did not show the actual leading part played by the Chairman of the Party; this film, which was made after the February events, was also to serve later on for strengthening my own position. On many occasions I acted in a similar way when I claimed credit for various Party successes."

Prosecutor: "How did you intend to realize the full usurpation of power?"

Slansky: "I worked toward the usurpation of power through the anti-State center so that the highest positions in the Party and State would fall in the hands of the anti-State group. I counted on the possibility of gaining the leading place in the State and Party. I knew that the obstacle for the realization of our final plans was Klement Gottwald, Chairman of the Party and President, who would never consent to the restoration of capitalism, and I was aware that in case of coming to power it would be necessary to get rid of Klement Gottwald.

"I admit that I arranged for Dr. Haskovec to attend the President of the Republic. Haskovec was a Free-Mason and therefore an enemy, a fact which I hid from the President of the Republic. Dr. Haskovec, being an enemy did not provide proper medical care for the President and thus caused the shortening of the President's life. I could have used Haskovec for the liquidation of

the President in the interest of the full usurpation of power . . ."

Prosecutor: "Thus you counted on the liquidation of the President of the Republic in the case of usurping power?"

Slansky: "Yes."

Answering the prosecutor's questions as to how he and his group planned to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia, Slansky said it was intended to do so gradually, because in that way the working people would have been more easily deceived. Slansky and his group could have pretended that they had not given up the building of socialism in order to achieve their ends. "Today I see that we built our plans on sand, that the working people would not have allowed us to realize our plans."

Slansky said he had intended using Titoist methods in achieving his plans.

Prosecutor: "This means putting imperialist agents in the Government, honest Communists in jail, and the country in servitude."

Slansky: "Yes."

The State Prosecutor then mentioned a letter addressed to Slansky by the CIC from which he quoted a passage warning Slansky of the pending legal proceedings against him in a similar way as in the Gomulka case. The CIC had offered to arrange Slansky's escape to the West.

Slansky added that this letter was proof that the imperialist circles in the West had known that his position after his removal from the post of Communist Party Secretary-General had been shaken. They were interested in his escape to the West because of his hostile attitude toward the People's Democratic Regime.

The State Prosecutor then read a passage from another letter from the U.S. Intelligence Service informing Slansky that a password would be

broadcast by the "Free Europe" transmitter on 408.9 meters on November 10, 17, 24, and December 1, 1951, always at 1953 hours. The password read: "Bad things are coming to light, says Ceston."

Asked by the prosecutor to explain this, Slansky said that the U.S. Intelligence Service had been seriously preparing his escape. The prosecutor added that his password had actually been broadcast as was evident from the report of the Ministry of National Security.

Prosecutor: "One can thus make these main conclusions: First, that as an old bourgeois agent and an enemy of the People's Democratic Czechoslovakia, you organized an Anti-State Conspiratorial Center against the republic. Is this so?"

Slansky: "I admitted this in my evidence."

Prosecutor: "Further, it is apparent from your evidence that the purpose of your anti-State group was the liquidation of the people's democratic regime and the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia. Is this so?"

Slansky: "I admit this."

Prosecutor: "Further, that your Anti-State Conspiratorial Center carried out espionage on behalf of the Western imperialists and did everything to foil the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia through which you caused Czechoslovakia immense political and material damage. "Is this so?"

Slansky: "Yes, it is so."

Prosecutor: "Further, that you directed your hostile activities for the purpose of usurping power in the State and for the removal of Klement Gottwald, which was your ultimate aim."

Slansky: "That is so."

Prosecutor: "Further it is clear from the evidence you have given that you formed an Anti-State Conspiratorial Center which was preparing

the overthrow of the people's democratic regime and the restoration of capitalism, and that you carried on these activities in the service of the Western imperialists and primarily in the service of the U.S. aspirants to world domination. . . ."

Slansky: "I admit this."

Prosecutor: "... in order to become a Czechoslovak Tito. Is this so?"

Slansky: "Yes." (This ended the examination of Slansky.)

NOVEMBER 20, 1952 — EVENING SESSION

At 2000 hours the State Court resumed its hearing with the examination of a number of witnesses. The first of these was Josef Vondracek, "an old and well known agent of the British Intelligence Service," who confirmed that Slansky had been in touch with the American spy, Geiringer Granville, during the thirties.

The second witness was Dr. Vaclav Vlk, "a Trotskyite of long standing who gave evidence about his own cooperation with Kalandra, Gutmann, and other Trotskyites. During the war he had been a member of the underground group "BOJ," but he and his fellow Trotskyites had, in fact, collaborated with the Nazis.

Vlk described how Slansky, who was fully informed of his Trotskyite part and his hostility to the popular Democratic regime, had personally enrolled him into the Communist Party in 1945. In the Party he had then placed unreliable people and enemies of the People's Democratic Regime in key positions. It had been their aim to liquidate the people's democracy and restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

The third witness was Dr. Eduard Goldstuecker who described his role of go between Slansky and "the agent of the British Intelligence Service,

Konni Zilliacus." His relations with Slansky, he explained, went back to 1946 when Slansky's attention had been drawn to Goldstuecker's "Jewish bourgeois origin" and his "connections with various enemy elements in the west." Slansky advised him to change his name to Zlatisty.

Before taking up his post at the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, Goldstuecker called on Slansky in February, 1947, and asked him for instructions for his work in England. Slansky asked him to cooperate with Bohuslav Kratochvil, who had been appointed Ambassador to London, and to help him.

Asked whether Slansky had given him any instructions about working with "the Anglo-American agent, Zilliacus," Goldstuecker replied that this came about only in December, 1947, when he was in Prague on an official visit. On that occasion he called on Geminder who told him that, together with Kratochvil, he should keep up contacts with Zilliacus. On the occasion of a third visit to Geminder, Goldstuecker was told that Slansky wished to see him. Slansky told him that he knew that Geminder had said to him about Zilliacus, but nevertheless repeated his instruction that he (Goldstuecker) should maintain contacts with Zilliacus beyond the scope of his official duties. Slansky said that he had known Zilliacus personally for some time and wished to keep in touch with him.

Asked to give details of how he had maintained contact between Slansky and Zilliacus, Goldstuecker said he met Zilliacus several times after his return to Britain and "gave him various political information which ought to have been kept secret in the interests of the Republic." He also received sealed letters and packages from Zilliacus which he forwarded to Slansky by way of diplomatic pouch, sometimes via Geminder.

In a similar manner, he passed on to Zilliacus letters which arrived by diplomatic pouch from Prague. He knew that the man through whom this was done at the Prague Foreign Ministry and was Arthur London. Goldstuecker also had enabled Ludvik Frejka to use the diplomatic pouch for contacts with the west and Ambassador Kratochvil had done the same.

In the summer of 1948, Kratochvil told Goldstuecker that he had sent a letter from Zilliacus to Clementis, in which Zilliacus gave Clementis his views about matters concerning the United Nations. Other than that Goldstuecker knew no details about the contents of the correspondence.

Regarding his appointment as Minister to Israel, Goldstuecker said Slansky told him that he had been given this post because "I have proved myself in England and because I had worked well in accordance with his instructions." On his arrival in Israel at the beginning of 1950, Goldstuecker had established contact with leading Zionists and he had sent reports to Slansky through Geminder about his relations with these Zionist leaders.

In the summer of 1949, he had contacted Ehud Avriel Euberrall the Israeli Minister in Prague and "later this relationship culminated in an espionage link under the influence of Slansky."

Goldstuecker, who described himself as of bourgeois Jewish origin, then told of his aid to Jewish Nationalists whom he had helped to return from Israel to Czechoslovakia to enable them to hold responsible positions in our economic affairs. This he had done on Slansky's instructions.

The next witness was Dr. Pavel Kavan. Kavan's testimony again "proved Slansky's connection with the agent Zilliacus, who used to hide behind the mask of an independent Labor M.P."

Kavan himself said that he had acted as intermediary between "the agent of the British Intelligence Service Zilliacus," and Slansky. He became acquainted with Zilliacus in August, 1946, during the latter's visit to Prague when Kavan was instructed to act as his guide and interpreter. At that time Zilliacus visited Slansky in Kavan's company.

"At that time, Zilliacus interrupted his stay in Czechoslovakia and went to Yugoslavia for a few days. On his return from Yugoslavia, where he had had talks with Tito, he asked me to arrange a meeting with Slansky whom he wanted to see urgently. This meeting took place at the beginning of September, 1946. Zilliacus himself told me that he had met Slansky in September, 1947, shortly before the visit of a group of Labor M.P.'s who had then toured Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, the USSR, and Poland."

"At the beginning of 1949, when I was working in the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, Zilliacus phoned and asked me to come and see him at the House of Commons. There he gave me a letter and asked me to send it to Slansky through safe channels." Kavan sent another letter for Zilliacus in July, 1948.

Other persons concerned in the exchanges between Zilliacus and Slansky were the Czechoslovak Ambassador in London, Dr. Bohuslav Kratochvil, Dr. Goldstuecker, and the defendant, London. Kavan also handed "espionage reports" from Margolius to Zilliacus in 1949. These reports "dealt with negotiations about an Anglo-Czechoslovak trade agreement and with the Czechoslovak attitude toward this agreement."

"After Kavan, there appeared before the State Court a small man—an international apache type—Mordecai Oren." He was described as a Zionist, British, and Titoist agent.

Oren said he has specialized in the affairs of the People's Democracies, "where I travelled to carry out my Zionist and espionage tasks. I linked my Zionist and espionage activities because I have been a member of the British Intelligence Service and from 1945 til my arrest I carried out my espionage activities in the People's Democracies, that is, in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, and Czechoslovakia." He also tried to get leading personalities to cooperate with the Zionists so as to gain "the maximum possible aid in the organization and strengthening of the capitalist State of Israel." To achieve this, he posed as a friend of the USSR and of peace.

Oren said he has visited Titoist Yugoslavia several times in the interests of Zionism and of the British Intelligence Service. "From a Titoist representative I learned of the collaboration between the General Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party (Slansky) and the Titoist Fascist Clique, and that he had carried out a policy similar to the Tito line in his own country." Oren was given this information by Ales Bebler, the Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister, and later by Pijade. In the second half of 1948 he discussed the Cominform resolution with Pijade when the latter had told him that the Titoists "have supporters in the People's Democracies," and named Slansky in Czechoslovakia and Gomulka in Poland.

Pijade also insulted the Cominform, Communist parties, the USSR and the People's Democracies. Pijade had told Oren that "he knew Slansky's political mentality and his desire to emulate Titoist policy in Czechoslovakia. He told me the same thing about Gomulka in Poland." According to Pijade, the support given to the Cominform resolution by Slansky and Go-

mulka had nothing in common with their real opinions. Pijade was in touch with Slansky through Ehud Avriel Ueberall, the Israeli Minister in Prague, who himself confirmed this to Oren in 1948. Pijade asked Oren to hand a message to Slansky, but Oren refused, as he did not know Slansky personally.

In the second half of 1948, Oren said he had also spoken to Bebler who described Slansky as a supporter of Titoist ideas. "I also know that Slansky was in contact with the Israeli Foreign Minister Sharett through Ueberall, who told me so himself in 1948. I was also told by the First Secretary of the Israeli Legation in Prague, Ben Schlalom. I also know that Sharett met Slansky personally. I was told this by Sharett himself in the plane from Belgrade to Prague in 1947 when we went to the European Zionist Conference in Karlovy Vary. On that occasion Sharett told me that in Yugoslavia he had negotiated with Bebler and Pijade and that he planned to meet Slansky in Prague. Pijade had given him a written recommendation which would enable him to speak to Slansky personally. I do not know when and where Sharett met Slansky."

The Prosecutor then asked Oren whether, on his wide travels across Europe, he had visited England. Oren replied that in 1946, in London, he met Mr. Herbert Morrison, later Foreign Minister, "with whom I became more closely acquainted." Mr. Morrison was a great supporter of Zionism." Numerous representatives of Zionism had also discussed Zionist problems and the Palestine question with Mr. Morrison. Mr. Morrison was in touch with David Ben-Gurion, Sharett, and others.

The witness, who had been in Britain both in 1946 and in 1947 had informed Mr. Morrison in

1947 about the People's Democracies in which the British Minister had shown great interest. Mr. Morrison asked him various questions about the situation in those countries, including matters relevant to the influence of the Communist Parties, and members of the government. On that occasion, in 1947, "Morrison told me that in the People's Democracies there remained some people who would fight the New Popular Democratic Regime, and that they would receive support from the western imperialists in that struggle." Mr. Morrison did not however, name anyone in particular.

Asked about the conclusions he had drawn from these conversations, Oren said: "It was clear to me that the Anglo-U.S. imperialists were preparing a new world war. This was further confirmed by Mr. Morrison in a later conversation when he spoke of a plan to destroy the Soviet Union. In that connection, Morrison mentioned Mr. Chamberlain who, he said, had tried to destroy the USSR by using foreign forces—Hitler and the Fascists. That, according to Mr. Morrison, had been the wrong way. Now, the task of destroying the USSR rested upon the shoulders of the western imperialist powers. On this occasion Morrison grossly abused the Soviet Union and disparaged her peace policy."

The Prosecutor then wanted to know what Mr. Morrison had told Oren about Mr. Zilliacus.

Oren replied that Morrison had told him about Zilliacus' visits to various countries, saying: "Zilliacus is a staunch champion of British imperialism and a veteran agent for British reactionary governments as well as a diehard enemy of the USSR and the People's Democracies. In addition Mr. Morrison informed the witness that Zilliacus "played a direct part in

preparing the Tito clique's betrayal of Yugoslavia to the war camp."

Pressed for more details about Morrison's disclosures about Zilliacus' activities, Oren quoted Morrison as saying: "Zilliacus told me in confidence in 1947 that great political changes were afoot in Yugoslavia and that Tito already had one foot in the U.S. camp."

Morrison emphasized that Tito would soon go over entirely to that camp, a move for which Zilliacus deserved great credit. In further conversation Morrison had let Oren know that, thanks to Zilliacus' visits to Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria, "influential friends had been given places in important government and party posts."

The witness was then asked how he had come into possession of papers concerning Slansky's views, which were found on Oren when he was arrested. Oren explained that he secured those papers in Prague in 1951 when, apart from working for the British Intelligence Service, he got these papers at the express orders of the Israeli Foreign Minister through the Israeli Minister in Prague. Evidently the Israeli Government had been perturbed at Slansky's arrest. The witness was glad to accept these instructions but failed to procure the required information before he was arrested.

The next witness was Jaromir Kopecky, former Czechoslovak Envoy in Switzerland, who, it was said, had easy access to Slansky.

Kopecky said that while in Switzerland he maintained contact with the Leader of the U.S. espionage service in Europe, Allen Dulles, with the help of the Representative of the British Ministry of Information, Elizabeth Wiskemann. After 1946, when Kopecky left Switzerland, he maintained contact with the U.S. Espionage

Service through the former Czechoslovak press Attache in Berne, Dr. Frantisek Glaser, with whose help he transmitted espionage reports. The U.S. Espionage Service tried to infiltrate the Czechoslovak Communist Party, and to this end tried to get into touch with leading Communist party officials at home and abroad.

The witness mentioned Antonin Hasek, former "CTK" correspondent in Switzerland, who was Slansky's son-in-law and who had kept in touch with the U.S. Espionage Service through the medium of Dr. Zak. Glaser was the go-between for Hasek and Allen Dulles. Hasek and Glaser were close friends and Hasek made frequent journeys from Switzerland to Prague. Hasek told the witness that he had travelled to Prague to gather information from Slansky at whose flat he always stayed. Glaser told the witness that he had received reports through Hasek for the U.S. Intelligence Service directly from Slansky. Glaser told the witness about this on February 17, 1948, in Berne, and mentioned that the espionage reports from Slansky had been of great value.

From the discussions which the witness had had with his political friends, Ripka, Zenkl, Drtina and others, Kopecky learned that Clementis, who had been in London during the war, was considered to be a Benes man who had been carrying out Benes pro-western policy. Benes himself saw to it that Clementis was employed by the BBC for broadcasts to Slovakia. When, in 1945, Clementis became State Secretary in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, he continued his policy for friendship and alliance with the bourgeois west. At an audience which the witness had with Benes, the latter told him directly that Clementis had been carrying out this policy under his guidance.

The next witness was Oskar Langer, who had been employed in various functions, first at the Regional Directorate of Building in Bratislava, then at the Commissariat of Food and later in the Slovak Communist Party Secretariat. He told the court that he returned to Czechoslovakia in 1946 from the United States where he had been living with his family since 1938. He returned because he had been sent to Czechoslovakia by the U.S. Zionists to work against the People's Democratic Regime. On his return, he visited the leading Czechoslovak Zionist, Winterstein, who had close connections with the Embassy in Prague.

Winterstein told the witness he had been working on drafting the Czechoslovak Restitution Law and that Slansky had promised to support this law. Its purpose was to concentrate the property of the Jews who had returned from the concentration camps, as well as those who had not returned, in Zionist hands, and in this way the Zionists intended, with Slansky's help, to strengthen and extend their economic power in Czechoslovakia.

The Zionist activities had been directed toward weakening the Czechoslovak economy by sending important machinery abroad. The witness himself had been directed to authorize the export of certain machinery on behalf of two Zionist manufacturers. He knew of a Zionist who intended to emigrate to Israel and who had been permitted, on Slansky's intervention, to take with him important machinery and tools.

The witness wrote to Slansky about anti-Semitism, and Slansky replied. The witness had destroyed Slansky's correspondence because, in his opinion, it would have been dan-

gerous to keep letters which could have incriminated Slansky in his anti-State activities.

The last witness at yesterday's proceedings was Andela Kankovska whom the commentator described as a go-between of the U.S. espionage agent, Herbert Kauders. In her evidence the witness said she became acquainted with Kauders in 1947, and that she maintained friendly and confidential relations with him. Kauders had not hidden from her his opposition to the People's Democratic Regime in Czechoslovakia. In 1951 Kauders told the witness about his treacherous intentions to escape to the west. Kauders asked the witness to escape with him, assuring her of an absolutely safe escape route, but the witness refused. She promised Kauders full cooperation and before his departure, they agreed to maintain contact and that Kauders would use the name of Kabes for this purpose.

After Kauders flight abroad the witness received two letters from him. In one of these Kauders asked the witness to find a way to contact Slansky, at that time Vice-Premier, and to hand him over the second letter. The witness opened and read the letter for Slansky in which the U.S. Intelligence Service warned him about the danger of being arrested and offered him a safe escape abroad and a political career. The letter also asked for a date of escape and passwords had been indicated which were to be broadcast by "Radio Free Europe" at certain days and times. However, the State Security Organs prevented the witness from fulfilling her assignment.

— END OF THE FIRST DAY OF THE TRIAL —

NOVEMBER 21, 1952 — SECOND DAY OF THE TRIAL — MORNING SESSION

When the State Court resumed its hearing on Friday morning, evidence was taken from Bedrich Geminder. (Unlike yesterday's recording of Slansky's evidence, Geminder's evidence was presented only in recorded extracts, linked by a few words by the radio commentator. Geminder spoke with a strong German accent and was at times difficult to understand. The Court apparently suffered from the same difficulty and the Presiding Judge had to ask Geminder several times to speak into the microphone.)

Asked to tell the Court about his association with Slansky, Geminder began by speaking of his "cosmopolitan, bourgeois, Zionist background," his "family connections with the west," and his early education which fostered in him "petty bourgeois and cosmopolitan views." His parents were merchants, his youth was care-free, and there was nothing in his personal experience that would have provided any ties with the revolutionary working class. While still at school he joined the "Blau Weiss" Zionist Youth Organization. All this Slansky knew. He also knew that he had a brother in Chile.

Although the interests of the working class had been alien to him, he had, like many other careerist elements, joined the Communist Party for selfish reasons. In 1925 he was closely linked with Alois Neurath, who was later unmasked and expelled from the party as a Trotskyite. In 1927, he was in touch with Desider Fried, who was expelled from the party for grave political errors and hostile views; in 1930, he became friendly with Josef Gutmann who was unmasked as a Trotskyite and expelled in 1933. Between 1926-35 he was in touch with

various Jewish Nationalist and cosmopolitan elements such as Reicin, Polak, Frejka, London, and others. With them he masqueraded as a loyal Communist while they were actually working against the Party.

Geminder then told the Court how he had met Slansky in 1930. Their friendship grew quickly and he soon became an unqualified admirer and willing tool of Slansky. Slansky soon confided in him and told him of his own connections with Trotskyites.

Since 1946 he cooperated with Slansky and other members of the conspiracy, filling in key positions in Party and State with their own followers. Frejka and Frank were placed in the Economic Administration; London, Dufek, and others in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the Zionist Goldstuecker and the adventurer Richard Slansky in diplomatic posts in the west.

Geminder next admitted he had maintained "espionage connection" with Novosel and "other Tito agents"; thus he had progressed, step by step, "on the road of betrayal of the party" until his double facedness led him to "crimes against the State."

Asked by the Court to go back to how Slansky had won him over for his conspiratorial activity, Geminder explained that in 1946 Slansky had met him again and asked him to work with him. Geminder hesitated because of his inadequate command of the Czech language and also because he did not have Czechoslovak citizenship. Slansky assured him that this could be remedied and suggested that he could change his name "as so many cosmopolitans have done." He suggested Vltavsky.

Geminder explained that for their conspiracy they had relied largely on people who had spent

the war in Britain and who had come back after the liberation as supporters of British imperialist policy and often as agents of western imperialism.

In the field of foreign affairs the main agents of the conspiracy were Clementis, "on whom Slansky relied personally," Dufek, Hajdu, London, "the international spy Simone who had connections with western journalists," Slansky's brother, Richard, and Goldstuecker.

The Court then asked Geminder to describe how he had established connections with imperialist espionage organizations.

Late in 1947, Geminder said, Slansky told him he was in touch with "the British spy, Zilliacus." "I had known from party circles that Zilliacus was a British spy. When I asked Slansky if he knew that Zilliacus was an old spy, he said of course he knew, but Zilliacus played an important part in Britain and suited his plans."

Geminder then described his role as contact man between Slansky and Zilliacus. Slansky gave him sealed letters — six or 10 of them — usually with a red gummed seal on which Slansky signed his initials. Occasionally Slansky sealed them in his presence after showing him the contents, which was "real espionage." These were sent to Zilliacus through the London Embassy.

In reply to a question by the Prosecutor, Geminder admitted that in addition to acting as a link between Slansky and Zilliacus, he also had personal contacts with Zilliacus.

Contact with Zilliacus had been maintained through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Czechoslovak diplomats abroad. Geminder described his interviews with Goldstuecker in 1947, when he himself and Slansky instructed Goldstuecker to maintain contact with Zilliacus and

supply him with what information he wanted.

At this point the prosecution submitted three letters illustrating Slansky's and Goldstuecker's collaboration with "the British spy Zilliacus" for the purpose of "tying Czechoslovakia to the economic policy of the west."

Geminder recognized the letters as part of the correspondence that had gone through his hands. In connection with one of them which dealt with Czechoslovakia's acceptance of the Marshall Plan, Geminder stated that Slansky had told him in 1947 that he favored Czechoslovakia's acceptance. A Czechoslovak delegation had been all ready to leave for Paris. This was one instance of Slansky's working to Zilliacus directives.

Asked about his personal contact with Zilliacus, Geminder said that in June 1948, when Zilliacus was in Prague, he had been present at the tail-end of a conversation between Zilliacus and Slansky. What Slansky told Zilliacus in his presence "must be described as espionage material."

"With Zilliacus' help we brought about the prerequisites for the liquidation of the People's Democratic Regime in Czechoslovakia." Zilliacus, Geminder suggested, was more than a mere link with the western espionage center; in carrying out their criminal designs, the conspirators counted on "active help from the western imperialists" and the Conspiratorial Center naturally worked "in accordance with the plans and the directives of the western imperialists for the severance of Czechoslovakia from her alliance with the USSR and the People's Democracies and for her return to capitalism."

Geminder next described how he had established a network of conspirators in the ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the diplomatic service

in order to be able to pursue the Conspiratorial Center's foreign policy. Clementis was a collaborator of Slansky even before February 1948. From some remarks made by Slansky, Geminder gathered that Clementis was a member of the conspiracy. A group of Trotskyites had been formed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the persons of Hajdu and London, and by putting them in charge of personnel questions the conspiratorial center gained control of the whole apparatus of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

In the diplomatic service, continued Geminder, "bourgeois nationalist cosmopolitan Zionist elements were appointed to foreign legations. Examples were (Vladislav Geri); the Zionist (Brotan), who was made Legation Secretary in Berne; the Zionist Bruegel, who was made Legation Secretary in Berlin; Hostovsky, who was made Legation Secretary in Stockholm; the Nationalist (Tucek), who was made Vice Consul in Switzerland, and (Forst), who was appointed to Paris.

As for the USSR and the People's Democracies, the bourgeois nationalist Horvath, a collaborator of Clementis, was sent to Budapest, and Antonin Hasek was sent to China, but the Chinese Foreign Ministry protested against him because he had worked against People's China for the interests of the western imperialists. "Many people whom we sent to the USSR and the People's Democracies in this manner had to be recalled for unreliability or incompetence." One of these was the Zionist, Josef Goldmann, who was recalled from the USSR.

Asked by the Court what had happened to Goldmann after his recall for unreliability and incompetence, Geminder admitted that the conspirators had appointed him Deputy Chairman of the Planning office.

Geminder was then asked by the prosecutor how he had organized foreign contacts outside the province of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The defendant mentioned that immediately after the liberation Slansky had arranged for him an official contact with Anglo-U.S. journalists through Richard Slansky, head of the Press Department of the Ministry of Information. As an unofficial contact, Simone maintained liaison with the imperialists; Simone later acted as the official contact, after the unmasking of Richard Slansky, having obtained a post in the Ministry of Information. Geminder admitted that Simone's espionage contacts with the western imperialists had been known to him through Slansky since 1946.

The Prosecutor referred to a remark by the Titoist Rankovic to the effect that "much better work is being done in Czechoslovakia than in Hungary." The Prosecutor wanted to know whether that was a reference to the activities of the Conspiratorial Center. The defendant confirmed this. (This ended Geminder's examination.)

Next a witness, Pavel Reimann was examined:

Reimann showed how the Conspiratorial Center's leaders used the Zionist organizations of Czechoslovakia for their ends. Reimann told of the farflung network of Zionist organizations and of Zionist groups of a Fascist type, set up under the direct patronage of Slansky. These organizations had at their disposal considerable funds to be used primarily for espionage and subversive activities. They served the imperialists and consequently, carried out large scale financial transactions, enabling some Czechoslovak capitalists to get their money out of the country.

Reimann had reported these matters to

Slansky, Geminder, and Svab, who had, however, seen to it that all evidence of such subversive work by the Zionists was suppressed.

Reimann was followed on the witness stand by Klinger, former head of the Press Department of the Foreign Ministry:

Klinger was expelled from the party in 1936 for being a "cunning Trotskyite." Slansky and Geminder instructed him to sabotage the Press Department and gave him an important post in the Foreign Ministry. They also ordered him to "keep an eye on" some important representatives of the Czechoslovak Communist Party.

Klinger confirmed in his evidence the guilt of Slansky and Geminder.

NOVEMBER 21, 1952 — AFTERNOON SESSION

The hearing of evidence from Dr. Clementis, the third defendant, began at 1400 hours.

Clementis began: "I plead guilty of having become involved in 1939 with the French Intelligence Service of the Surete Nationale and to thus having become an agent of the Western Imperialists. Later, as Undersecretary of State, and afterward, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, I established espionage contacts with Anglo-U.S. spies such as Maurice DeJean, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. Steinhardt, and I carried out espionage in their interests and against the Czechoslovak Republic."

Dr. Clementis then said that as a supporter of Benes pro-imperialist policies and after Benes had lost his position he had established close contact with Slansky. Together with him he "carried out a subversive policy in the organization of the cadres in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs" and thereby began to play his part in the Conspiratorial Center. He further pleaded

guilty to having carried out subversive activities aiming at "the overthrow of the people's democracy and the restoration of capitalism."

In 1947 on Slansky's instructions he had established contact with Zilliacus to whom he passed information about Czechoslovakia and whom he enabled to interfere in Czechoslovakia's internal affairs. In 1946, he got in touch with Simone, whose criminal activities he financed and to whom he passed on espionage information. "I also supported the Trotskyite group in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. To tell the truth, I must say that I never was a genuine communist." He said he had grown up in an atmosphere of Slovak nationalism. Dr. Clementis described in detail his activities as a student from 1921-5 in Prague, when he took part in political activities, as a result of which he came into contact with the Communist Party. In Prague he gathered around him nationalistically-minded Slovak students and as early as 1924 he took up a polemical attitude in his paper, "Dav," against the official Communist Party line on the Slovak nation. He had not found the "right attitude" toward the Party and the working class.

Clementis admitted having instilled his bourgeois nationalism into the paper, "Dav," and thereby into the Slovak intelligentsia which consequently fell victim to his "alien ideology." The attitude of "Dav" was admittedly anti-democratic and anti-progressive."

Clementis then recalled the Slovak Youth Congress at Tencianske Teplice in 1932 at which Slovakia was placed in a position opposing the Czech lands, and the unity of the working class interests of both provinces was ignored. The "dangerous nature of that concept" was later manifested during the Slovak national rising and

in the process of the building of people's democratic Czechoslovakia.

Clementis was then asked by the Prosecutor how he had established contact with foreign espionage authorities.

He said that in 1939 he had been introduced to the Surete Nationale in Paris where he was in exile, and later in his capacity as Under-secretary of State and Foreign Minister he had established direct contact with Anglo-U.S. spies.

He described in detail the beginning of his contacts in Paris in 1939, first with Hubert Ripka, Dr. Benes' chief right-hand man in Paris. Despite his knowledge of that fact, he openly conveyed to Ripka the views of the Communist Party on topical problems. He also knew that Ripka passed on that information to Dr. Benes. Other exiled politicians with whom he got in touch in Paris were Ambassador Osusky, Dr. Pauliny Toth, and others. When war broke out, he openly took up an "Anti-Soviet attitude" over the question of the Soviet German Pact and Finland, whereby he drifted into the reactionary camp and contributed towards the ease with which he "got involved with the Surete Nationale."

Dr. Clementis was then asked to give a detailed account of his connections with the Surete Nationale.

In October, 1939, he was arrested by the Surete Nationale and examined at the Police Prefecture in Paris, during which investigation he "betrayed various important data concerning the activities of Communist emigres in Paris such as Sverma, Siroky, and Koehler." Thereupon he was asked bluntly whether he was prepared to work with the Surete Nationale, to which he agreed.

That important interview had, according to the Prosecutor, been witnessed by an interpreter who in his deposition had stated: "Clementis did not behave like a member of the Communist Party, and willingly answered all questions put to him. He also committed himself in writing to working for the Surete Nationale." Clementis admitted that this was all true.

Czechoslovak reactionaries as well as numerous French and British personalities made great efforts to secure his release. Ripka, in particular, showed the utmost interest in seeing Clementis freed. Dr. Clementis then said that he had remained in London from April, 1941, until his return to Czechoslovakia. In London he renewed his contract with Ripka and in 1942 or 1943 he was told by the latter that DeJean, De Gaulle's representative, was interested in meeting him. Dr. Ripka and Dr. Benes were informed about his connections with the Surete Nationale.

The prosecutor then told Clementis that General Josef Bartik had confirmed when examined that he knew of Clementis' betrayal to the French police. To this Clementis added: "Bartik was in a position to know this, being so close to the French authorities and President Benes' expert on French affairs as well as head of the Intelligence Section of the Czechoslovak General Staff."

Asked about his meeting with DeJean, Clementis said he realized that the instigator of that meeting was not DeJean, but Benes and Ripka.

In 1946, when DeJean handed his letters of credence to Clementis on his appointment as French Ambassador in Prague, Clementis "established direct espionage relations with him as the representative of the French Espionage Service."

Speaking about his relationship with Benes

during the war, Clementis said that in 1941 Benes had invited him to discuss their future cooperation. "I knew that Benes was for the capitalists against the USSR, and that his policy aimed at depriving the USSR of influence in Czechoslovakia up to the war. I told him that I was in agreement with his Western orientation."

"After this conversation Benes made it possible for me to take part in the Czechoslovak transmissions of the BBC to enable me to propagate his pro-imperialist ideas in this manner."

Prosecutor: "I present document number 11 which proves Clementis' close cooperation with reactionary Slovak politicians, Slavik, Lichner, Becko, and Pauliny Toth. This is a record of negotiations about the appointment of the editor of the Slovak transmissions from London."

Judge: "This document has been presented to you during the preliminary investigation. Do you know its contents?"

Clementis: "Yes, correct."

Clementis continued: "Benes made it clear that he agreed with my appreciation of the international situation and with the tenor of my broadcast talks and that he counted on me for an important post after the war. He wanted to have his man in the Communist party to enable him to claim that he was playing a progressive role in cooperating with the Communists in the government."

Prosecutor: "I put it to you that you became a traitor to the Czechoslovak people just like your friends who held these same opinions."

Clementis: "I admit that."

Prosecutor: "Who were these people who joined forces with English reactionaries?"

Clementis: "Above all, the Jewish Bourgeois Nationalists such as Otto Sling, Evzen Loebl,

Ervin Polak, Richard Slansky, Vilem Novy and others who later, thanks to their hostile connections, attained important positions in Czechoslovakia. Also the cosmopolite Koloman Mosko, who acted as liaison between our Jewish Bourgeois Nationalist and similar groups in the Hungarian Communist Party which were exposed in connection with the Rajk trial. The Jewish Bourgeois Nationalists in London also rallied round Ludvik Frejka. Of this group I know Josef Goldmann and Dr. Jancik-Jung, and others. Ripka penetrated the Communist Party in London during the war through his agent, Dr. Ivo Duchacek, who had particularly close relations with Sling, Goldstuecker, and Ervin Polak, Clementis said. These three supplied Ripka with reports on Communist activities. Ripka also employed in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Emigre Government Goldstuecker, the Zionist Mme. Vazna, and entrusted Loebel with important tasks connected with UNNRA. All these agents of Benes and Ripka had worked for foreign espionage services and after the liberation returned to Czechoslovakia only to serve the interests of the Western Imperialists. The common aims of all these traitors provided the connecting link between the open reactionaries and enemies of progress of Benes' entourage and the Imperialist agents who covered themselves with membership of the Communist party."

"My own position in this set-up was of a somewhat special character insofar as I cooperated with Benes and his reactionary clique while, on the other hand, as a member of the Communist Party I was in close contact with the conspirators grouped around Slansky."

Speaking about his activities as a Slovak Bourgeois Nationalist, Clementis said that on

his return to Slovakia in 1945, his activities were "hostile to the people's democratic republic" because he "remained a Bourgeois Nationalist." He established close contact with Novomesky and Husak with whom he collaborated before the war. On the occasion of Novomesky's London trip in 1944 as a delegate of the Slovak National Council during the Slovak rising, they had agreed on a policy which was "fundamentally hostile with respect to Czecho-Slovak coexistence. I must admit," he continued, "that the ideals of the subversive group of Slovak Bourgeois Nationalists were clearly marked by Titoist influence. Like the Titoist in Yugoslavia, we in Slovakia propagated a foreign and hostile ideology of Bourgeois Nationalism. I fully admit my guilt in taking part in this subversive group of Slovak Bourgeois Nationalists which tried to separate the development of Slovakia from the development of the State as a whole and thus strengthened reaction, hindered the progress of Socialism and the development of the people's democratic order."

Returning to his collaboration with Benes, Clementis recalled his swearing in as Secretary of State in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1945. "In April 1945, in the President's villa, we agreed between ourselves and without the presence of witnesses about the fundamental policy in foreign affairs. Benes instructed me to take action immediately after my return to Prague to secure privileges for the U.S. Army which would enable its members to move freely in Czechoslovakia, that is, the rear of the Soviet Army."

In May, 1945, Clementis joined with Jina, an agent of Benes, who introduced him to the Anglo-U.S. Agent, Arnost Heidrich. Clementis entrusted Heidrich with working out the statute

of organization for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and appointed him head of the political section of the Ministry. "In this way I secured the possibility of executing the Benes policy of linking up with the West and of removing Czechoslovakia from Soviet influence."

Prosecutor: "This means that you acted as an agent serving the interests of the Anglo-U.S. Imperialists."

Clementis: "Yes it does, I do not deny it."

Turning to his own espionage activities, Clementis described his relationship with DeJean who came to Prague in 1946 as French Ambassador and who "immediately, at our first meeting reminded me of my obligations to the Surete Nationale." He supplied DeJean with information of Czechoslovak foreign policy and home policy and DeJean "often told me that we must try to limit the growth of Soviet influence in Czechoslovakia."

Clementis: "Following the instructions and examples of Benes and Masaryk, I established espionage links with Nichols, the British Ambassador, and Steinhardt, the U.S. Ambassador, immediately after my return to Prague in 1945. On his first visit Nichols assured me of his confidence and later repeated this when he brought me a personal letter from Bevin thanking me for a telegram of congratulations which I had sent him on his appointment as foreign secretary.

"Nichols declared on that occasion that he valued my friendly feelings toward Britain. Both Nichols and Steinhardt had particularly close intimate relations with Benes and Masaryk, who informed them fully of all Czechoslovak affairs and I gave them information about the views held by the Czechoslovak Communist Party."

After Nichols' departure, Clementis continued to supply his successor, Pierson Dixon, with confidential information with regard to the Danube conference, and in 1949 he informed him "about Czechoslovakia's candidacy for the Security Council." "Dixon also learned from me about the Czechoslovak attitude toward the West German Statute then under preparation, the Ruhr Statute, and toward Czechoslovak commercial and economic relations with Western Germany. All this Dixon knew at a time when this information was still classed as secret.

"I want to emphasize that while the French and English showed interest in political questions, Steinhardt concerned himself mainly with economic problems and with questions affecting international organizations under U.S. influence, such as the ILO, the International Fund, the World Bank, and others.

"I passed on espionage information to Steinhardt through Loebl. With his aid I strengthened Steinhardt's position in Czechoslovakia. Steinhardt also paid attention to his private affairs in Czechoslovakia as partner of a New York law firm. In 1948 Steinhardt approached me several times on behalf of the notorious warmonger, John Foster Dulles, and tried to make me take steps to insure the payment of compensation for the nationalized property of the well-known Petschek banking family. John Foster Dulles, who became notorious through his advocacy of German bankers during World War I and who is also known for his dirty bargains with Nazi bankers during World War II was the lawyer entrusted with representing the Petschek interests.

"I want to state that I also collected intelligence reports from the people's democracies. Immediately after the liberation, I took meas-

ures through the military mission in Budapest, for the establishment of a wide espionage network in Hungary. General Dastich, who deserted after February, 1948, to become an open U.S. agent, directed this espionage network and sent me intelligence reports from Hungary by courier. This activity was financed from dollar funds." Clementis named a Dr. Teresz as one of this organization. Clementis made use of these reports in his relations with Nichols, Steinhardt, and DeJean.

"I do not deny and I admit that together with Slansky I carried out a subversive cadres policy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs." All the candidates proposed by Slansky for posts in the Foreign Service were taken from the ranks of the London emigres and of the Jewish Bourgeois Nationalists. I knew of them, that they had established close relations with reactionary circles in Britain."

Geminder, Hajdu, Goldstuecker, and Dufek had been Slansky's confederates in the field of foreign affairs. After February, 1938, Slansky and Clementis conspired to appoint the notorious Trotskyite, Evzen Klinger, to head the Foreign Ministry's Intelligence Division.

Speaking about Zilliacus, Clementis said: "After the war he came to Czechoslovakia, and on Slansky's orders I received him. It was generally known that he was in the pay of the intelligence service. I know definitely that in 1947 Zilliacus called on Slansky who then called me up to tell me to see Zilliacus. In Autumn, 1948, when I was head of the Czechoslovak Delegation at the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, the then Czechoslovak Ambassador in London, Kratochvil, brought me memoranda from Zilliacus dealing with questions under discussion at the U. N. General Assembly. As lead-

ing Czechoslovak Delegate, he wanted me to use them at the General Assembly. These memoranda recommended that I take up the position of an intermediary. This would have, in reality, represented the first step toward abandoning of the Camp of Peace led by the USSR and toward moving into the Imperialist Camp."

The State Prosecutor then showed Clementis reports allegedly given him by Zilliacus which Clementis identified.

Prosecutor: "This means that Zilliacus, through the relationship which he established with you, tried to make use of you in the United Nations as a lever for the realization of his Imperialist intentions?"

Clementis: "Yes. This is a fact."

Prosecutor: "In this way Zilliacus openly tried to interfere with Czechoslovakia's internal affairs which belonged exclusively within the sovereignty of the Czechoslovak Republic."

Clementis: "Yes. That was like Zilliacus, who wanted to play the role of a young labor party member but was in fact a foreign spy."

Prosecutor: "From your and Slansky's testimony one must conclude that Zilliacus was in contact with Czechoslovakia's mortal enemies led by Slansky, as the Emissary of the Western Imperialists."

Clementis: "Yes."

The State Prosecutor then proceeded to accuse Clementis of having established hostile contacts with the agent of Western espionage services, Andre Simone, of whose close relations with Slansky Clementis had been aware.

Asked to describe Simone, Clementis said: "I became personally acquainted with Simone in Paris in 1938. Already at that time, while having conversations with him, I learned about his vast connections with the representatives of the

world capitalist press and of his connections with the West. After the war, his entire orientation can be described as typically cosmopolitan."

Prosecutor: "How did you know that Simone was in touch with the British Intelligence Service?"

Clementis: "Rudolph Slansky told me so in 1949, when I inquired about Simone's past."

Prosecutor: "And what did Slansky know about your relationship with Simone?"

Clementis: "Simone himself told me that Slansky was interested in this cooperation."

Clementis then told the court that he, Slansky, and Simone had had lunch together during the Peace Conference in Paris. After Clementis' return from the Peace Conference Simone visited him at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. After the February events in 1948, Simone tried to secure the post of the head of the Intelligence and Information Section of the Foreign Ministry. When Clementis consulted Slansky he told him that he, Slansky, had other plans for Simone.

Asked by the Prosecutor whether he had passed information to Simone, Clementis said he had given him reports on topics concerning Czechoslovak foreign policy and international problems; particularly, he had supplied him with confidential information concerning agreements with the Soviet Union, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and information relating to Czechoslovakia's participation in important international discussions and meetings. Clementis knew Simone made use of this information through his connections with foreign press correspondents.

Prosecutor: "This points to the fact that Simone was a further link between you and

the Imperialist agents?"

Clementis: "Yes."

Prosecutor: "You have also admitted that you financed Simone's criminal activities."

Clementis: "Yes, at the end of 1947 I gave Simone 60,000 crowns from the Ministry Fund and told him that this sum was to cover his expenses in connection with his activities as a publicist."

Prosecutor: "To put it correctly, this means espionage activities. Do you wish to add anything to your evidence?"

Clementis: "I told you everything. I admit I became an agent of the Western Imperialists. I admit my participation in subversive activities of the Benes clique, and later of the Slansky Anti-State Conspiratorial Center. All my activities in this center were directed toward the liquidation of the people's democratic regime and the restoration of capitalism, and to breaking Czechoslovakia away from the Peace Camp and making it subservient to Imperialist interests."

This ended the testimony of Dr. Clementis. At 2000 hours the court reopened with the examinations of three witnesses:

NOVEMBER 21, 1952 — EVENING SESSION

The first witness, Jaroslav (Jircik), a former French police officer in Paris, had worked in the French Intelligence since 1939 and had met Clementis at the Paris Police Prefecture at the time of Clementis' betrayal of his country.

Jircik's statement, given in a rather nervous manner with frequent coughing, described how he first met Clementis in Paris at the Police Prefecture in October 1939, when Clementis answered all questions put to him by the police and declared his willingness to work for the Surete Nationale.

On that occasion Clementis was questioned about the situation in the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Czechoslovak emigres in Moscow, and other matters. Clementis also referred to the communist leaders then residing in France — that is, Sverma, Koehler, Siroky, and others. The witness also remembered that the French asked for information about security arrangements inside the Czechoslovak Communist Party and about the attitude of Czechoslovak representatives in Moscow toward the London exiles and Dr. Benes. There were no further details.

The next witness to be examined was Novomesky, former Chairman of the Slovak Academy of Arts and Sciences, described by the announcer as a "bourgeois nationalist, traitor, and spy." The Prosecutor asked him about the origin of the subversive movement of the Slovak bourgeois nationalists.

Novomesky said these nationalists had been organized as early as 1924-25 around the "Dav" group led by Dr. Clementis. That group, and the magazine of the same name, had exerted a considerable and damaging influence upon the young intelligentsia by instilling in its members an alien and hostile ideology, the results of which had become noticeable, especially during the Congress of Trencianske Teplice. On that occasion the identity of their policy with that of the Slovak separatists came into the open. The "Dav" group later continued to give active support to the Slovak separatists.

The witness then told how, together with Jan Ursiny and Lt. Col. Vesely, he had met Clementis and Dr. Benes in London in 1944. He had then agreed with Clementis on a bourgeois nationalist policy again in the Republic.

Describing the execution of this policy after Clementis' and his own return from London to Czechoslovakia in 1945, the witness said he had numerous secret meetings with Clementis and Dr. Gustav Husak in Bratislava. The outcome of those meetings had been the dissemination of views hostile to the Republic, such as the fanning of hatred among the Hungarian minority against the other nationalities of the Republic and the People's Democratic regime.

The aim of all these subversive activities of the group had been a counterrevolution, the restoration of capitalism, the separation of Czechoslovakia from the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, and the revival of imperialist influence. The methods by which this was to be achieved were the instigation of national opposition and distrust and frustration of the establishment of a united and firm power in the state.

Espionage links with the western imperialists had also been maintained. One of the contacts named by the witness had been the French Consul in Bratislava, Manach.

Another witness examined was Ivan Horvath, former Czechoslovak Minister to Budapest, who admitted he had been arrested for his espionage contacts with Manach — described at this point as Consul General — whom he had met through Dr. Clementis in Prague at the end of 1945 and with whom he had been instructed to cooperate.

The witness said the activities of the entire group in Slovakia had been directed by Dr. Clementis. The group had included, among others, Dr. Okali, Dr. Husak, and Novomesky. Activities against the Hungarian People's Democracy had been carried out at the Czechoslovak Legation in Budapest on instructions from Dr. Clementis. Slanderous reports about

Hungary were collected through the agent (Beres or Terisz) and were conveyed to Clementis through press attache Dr. Jan Danko. The purpose of these reports was to undermine the good relations between the two countries.

Clementis had periodically sent sums of kcs. 100,000 to the legation in payment for such reports, and Beres, former Hungarian journalist, had received kcs. 2,000 a month for his espionage work. The witness himself had discussed those matters personally with Clementis when he called on him in Prague at the beginning of 1949. The dispatch of further money was arranged and the sum of kcs. 100,000 was received by the witness in March 1949. The money was handed over to Danko and then by the latter to Beres. In Autumn 1950 Danko told the witness that he had an envelope with a substantial sum of dollars for Beres. Danko also informed the witness that Beres had been arrested for subversive activities by the Hungarian security authorities.

The witness told the Prosecutor he knew that Clementis "supported Trotskyite activities at the Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry" and secured a high position for the Trotskyite Hajdu. The witness had seen Clementis' secretary (Florin) in 1949 in Prague, and Florin confirmed, as Clementis did later, that Hajdu belonged to that Trotskyite group.

—END OF THE SECOND DAY OF THE TRIAL—

NOVEMBER 22, 1952 — THIRD DAY OF THE TRIAL — MORNING SESSION

At the November 22 morning session, Dr. Clementis who was recalled, was the first witness to be examined. He answered questions by the Presiding Judge and the Prosecutor.

The Presiding Judge asked Clementis to clarify the following point: "How is it possible that you, a representative of Slovak bourgeois nationalism, were simultaneously an agent of Benes, who is known to have always opposed the legitimate demands of the Slovak nation for independence as a nation?"

Clementis said this matter had, of course, been discussed with Dr. Benes both in 1941 and in 1944 in the presence of Novomesky. Dr. Benes had "maintained his negative attitude" regarding the autonomous character of the Slovak nation. Dr. Benes had declared, however, that "if the new Czechoslovak constitution formally recognized the rights and independence of the Slovak nation, he as a politician and President would respect that viewpoint. As a private person, he would continue to adhere to his negative opinion."

Dr. Benes did not mind Clementis' bourgeois nationalist attitude because any bourgeois ideology was closer to Dr. Benes than working class policy. Besides, Dr. Benes realized that the ultimate aim of the bourgeois nationalists in Slovakia was identical with his own, that is, the restoration of capitalism.

The Prosecutor then reminded Clementis of his claim that he had worked for the maximum authority of the Slovak national organs; were not the representatives of the reaction to gain control of those authorities? Clementis admitted this and many other leading questions from the

Prosecutor, from which exchange of question and answer the following summary of Clementis' admissions emerges:

The representatives of the reaction strove for the expansion of the power of the Slovak National organs. Clementis supported Slovak reaction, which aimed at the destruction of the Republic and the People's Democracy. The reactionaries imperiled the vital interests of the Slovak people by isolating Slovakia from the general reconstruction of the Republic, by restoring power to the Slovak bourgeoisie, by enslaving the working class, and by isolating the Communist Party. Clementis, by supporting all these endeavors through his advocacy of wider powers for the Slovak authorities, in fact worked for the destruction of the People's Democracy and the unity of the Republic, Clementis admitted all these points.

The proceedings continued with the examination of defendant Arthur London, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, who was described as a typical cosmopolite and Trotskyite.

London began by "pleading guilty to active participation in the anti-State conspiracy created and directed by Slansky. I carried out my activities from 1948 to the date of my arrest. This anti-State conspiracy planned the liquidation of the People's Democratic order and the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

"Together with Geminder, I directed the Trotskyite group in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This group seized control of the party organization in the Ministry in order to create conditions favorable to the placing of hostile cadres in important positions in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

I also admit my guilt in acting as a link in the espionage relations between Slansky and the old

British agent Ziliacus. For this purpose I made use of the diplomatic mail facilities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I myself had espionage relations with the U.S. agent, Hermann Field, to whom I gave intelligence reports."

Speaking about his past, London admitted he had established contact with a Trotskyite group in France in 1940. This group, consisting of Czechoslovaks who had been members of the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War, had been centered in Marseilles and later in Paris. The group included Osvald Zavodsky, Laco Holdos, and Antonin Svoboda, all of whom had been given important positions by Slansky after the war. "Slansky did this because he himself was a Trotskyite, supported the bourgeois view, and attracted to himself similar men and counted on these people in his criminal plans."

London had talks lasting for about 2 days with Slansky in 1946, when the latter made it clear that he knew of London's Trotskyite past. They had discussed the Trotskyite group in France and its connections with the Trotskyites Dubina, Spirk, and others, and also "the fact that this group had been financed by the Americans." London had also known of the Trotskyite activities of Goldstuecker and of the treacherous doings of Clementis.

Slansky told him that after the liberation the Slovak Communist Party had demanded the expulsion of Goldstuecker and of some former members of the International Brigade from the party. Slansky was pleased by London's account of his continued cooperation with all these Trotskyites. "He then began to talk in a more confidential manner and told me his own relations with my friends were the same as mine and that he therefore tried to place them in important positions. He said that he wanted to make

Nekvasil and Svoboda members of Parliament, and that Pavel and Hromadka were intended for important posts in the Central Party administration."

London recalled that Sverma had told him in Paris in 1939 that Slansky had no liking for "the men around Gottwald."

"At the end of our conversation, Slansky directly proposed hostile collaboration to me. He asked me to return from France and assume control of Cadre duties in the party. He entrusted me with the hostile task of carrying out subversive and espionage activities against the French Progressive movement. Geminder and Zavodsky also took part in these activities."

In December 1948 London returned to Czechoslovakia where Geminder offered him the post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in charge of cadre policy. "He instructed me to establish contacts in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with Hajdu and Dufek, who were closely connected with him and who carried out Slansky's directives with regard to cadre policy."

"Geminder also talked me into cooperating closely with Clementis and to support his policy in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Geminder stressed that they regarded the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as an important sector, where they had already placed their people, and emphasized that all these directives instructing me to support and establish contact with Clementis, Hajdu, and Dufek, came from Slansky. I accepted these instructions because of my unlimited devotion to Slansky."

"As a person loyal to Slansky I enjoyed his confidence and I was acquainted with his confidential matters and thoughts. I knew that Slansky was slowing up the development of socialism in Czechoslovakia, and that he wanted

to seize control of the party, isolate the President from the people, and gain power in the country. Slansky was determined to go to any lengths to achieve his ends."

For these reasons Slansky had to place traitors in important positions. After the war Slansky had supported elements in the service of the imperialists who had returned from France and England, and he made use of their pro-western orientation to strengthen his own position.

From March 1949 on, London carried out Slansky's directives while holding the post of Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs. "At the same time, on Slansky's and Geminder's orders, I misused the diplomatic mail for the espionage purposes of the anti-State center. I was a link in the chain of espionage connections between Slansky and Geminder on one side and the old agent of the Intelligence Service, Zilliacus, on the other."

"In March 1949 Geminder told me to take charge of the courier department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He stressed that I was being given this task because they regarded me as reliable and that Slansky himself was greatly interested in this. Geminder added that he would give me letters for forwarding to employees of Czechoslovak diplomatic missions abroad. He emphasized that letters addressed to him from these employees must be immediately delivered. Toward the end of our conversation Geminder told me that these instances concerned Slansky's secret correspondence."

Among Slansky's correspondents were Kratochvil and Goldstuecker in London, who received letters for "the notorious anti-Soviet agent and Intelligence Service agent Zilliacus."

In 1947 London made contact with the "well-known United States agent Noel Field" in Geneva. At the time "Field was a leading representa-

tive of the American aid organization, the Unitarian Service Committee. In practice the American espionage service concealed itself under this label, and Field himself was under orders of the United States espionage service chief, Allen Dulles, who lived in Switzerland.

"Under the cover of aid and rehabilitation, the American espionage service made use of the Unitarian Service Committee to penetrate the people's democracies, with the aid of various elements from eastern Europe, and to develop treasonable and espionage activities. Field made use of this to establish contact, to create confidential links, and to tie people to himself and thus try to build up an American espionage network. In this manner Field tapped many important sources of espionage directed against the people's democracies, as has also been proved by the Rajk trial in Hungary.

"Field recruited his agents from among those who had succeeded in reaching important positions in the Party and State after their return to the people's democracies." In 1948 London met Field in the Czechoslovak Information Bureau in Paris, where Field told him that he had seen "his people in Czechoslovakia."

Between April and September 1947, Field had called on London several times in Switzerland. London had informed him about his position with regard to the Czechoslovak Information Bureau in Paris and to the Journal ("Parallele") in the Paris Information Bureau, Field, accompanied by an unknown American woman, called again on London, who again gave him espionage information.

Prosecutor: "Some of this information was secret and top secret?"

London: "Yes, that is correct."

On his appointment as Deputy Foreign Minister, London had received a letter of congratulations from Field and, in another letter from Field, a card intended for the German Trotskyite Paul Mercker had been enclosed. "However, I destroyed those letters and did not send the card on. I did so because I wanted to destroy evidence of my espionage collaboration with Field, because I had been told by Sindelar and . . . that the activities of the U.S. spy Field had been exposed in Czechoslovakia. For the same reason, I refused to see Field, although the Trotskyite Kleinova asked me several times in 1949 to see him, as Field was in contact with her.

"I spoke of my connections with Field to Slansky several times in 1949, to Geminder, and later to Karel Svab. Svab, in particular, cleverly reminded me of my connections with Field and told me that I had been saved from serious consequences thanks only to Slansky, Geminder, and himself. Because of this I became even more active in carrying out Slansky's criminal policy against People's Democratic Czechoslovakia."

London then named Slansky's brother-in-law, the Trotskyite Antonin Hasek, "who in Switzerland in 1945 maintained contact with various international agents of the Western espionage services and with Trotskyites. Hasek had particularly close relations with Kopecky, former

In 1947 London had caught a glimpse of Dr. Frantisek Glaser in Hasek's flat in Berne and had been told that Glaser was a leading representative of the Caritas International Aid Organization. From members of the Swiss Labor Party London learned that Glaser was "an old collaborator of the chief of the American espionage service in Europe, Allen Dulles."

As a leading representative of Caritas, Glaser had cooperated closely with the Vatican. Hasek

had also maintained relations with the Swiss Trotskyites Hoffmeyer and (Herzog). Hasek made no secret of his activities, since he regarded London as a person who enjoyed Slansky's full confidence.

The chief of the Czechoslovak-Swiss Chamber of Commerce, Arnost Jokl, was a representative of Swiss capitalist circles and a collaborator of the Swiss and French police. Hasek had cooperated with Jokl in public, as could be proved by employees of the Berne Legation and Zurich Consulate. Hasek had also cooperated with an intimate of the Slovak emigre traitor Kirschbaum.

"In 1948 democratic circles in Switzerland warned me that American spy Glaser was gaining the most secret information about Czechoslovakia and the other People's Democracies from Hasek. Some of this information had appeared in the reactionary Swiss press, particularly with regard to Czechoslovak foreign trade with the People's Democracies and the USSR — the raw materials foundation of Czechoslovak industry — Czechoslovak industrial development, and difficulties caused to Czechoslovakia's economy by the discriminatory policy of the Western imperialists.

"I also know that in 1947 and 1948 Hasek frequently accompanied Fuchs, Glaser, Herzog and Hoffmeyer to Prague, where he arranged meeting the Trotskyite Fuchs and Hoffmeyer with Slansky and Geminder. In 1949 the Czechoslovak Minister in Berne had been instructed by London, acting on orders from Geminder and Frank, to support Fuchs."

Asked whether he had given all the names of those members of the conspiratorial center who maintained connections with the Western espionage services, London replied:

"Not yet. A very important part in the connection with the West was also played by the spy Dr. Zdenek Toman, who in 1947 told me in Switzerland that his activities were directed by Slansky himself. At the end of 1948, Toman went to the West. Similarly, Andre Simone, who in 1946 was unmasked by democratic circles in France as an old British agent, is an important link between Slansky and Geminder, on the one hand, and the West on the other. Up to 1950 Simone had various important tasks in connection with the West."

London was asked what he knew about the connections between the members of the Conspiratorial Center and Israeli and Zionist organizations. He replied: "Slansky and Geminder maintained contact with Zionist circles and Israel by Goldstuecker, through the diplomatic pouch.

Prosecutor: "By extending connections with representatives of the West, you sabotaged our relations with the USSR and the People's Democracies. Tell us about this."

London: "Slansky, Geminder, and myself sent to the People's Democracies people with pro-Western and anti-Soviet views, proved hostile elements. In this way, the Zionist Otto Fischl was sent as a spy to the German Democratic Republic. The cosmopolitan Richard Slansky was sent to Warsaw, where he behaved in such a way that he compromised Czechoslovakia and weakened relations with the Poles. Antonin Hasek was sent to China, where he abused his official position for hostile activities. They all tried to complicate and weaken the relations between Czechoslovakia and the other countries and played into the hands of the enemies of democracy."

Prosecutor: "Will you give the names of per-

sons whom you sent to important and responsible positions with Czechoslovak missions abroad?"

London: "We appointed to such positions hostile elements who enjoyed our confidence and on whom we could rely in our criminal plans. Besides those I have already mentioned, we succeeded in placing the following persons, on the proposal of Slansky and Geminder: member of the Conspiratorial Center and Trotskyite Eduard Goldstuecker, as Minister to Israel; member of the conspiratorial group in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Karel Dufek, as Minister to Ankara; in Frankfurt on Main we placed the Zionist Jiri Fischl, who closely collaborated with Hajdu; we transferred from London to India the member of the anti-state group, the cosmopolitan Kratochvil, who even today maintains the espionage link in London with Konni Zilliacus.

"By sending these people to hold important posts in Czechoslovak diplomatic missions abroad we compromised the People's Democratic Regime, which was betrayed by Kratochvil and Jiri Fischl, who went over into the services of the treacherous emigres and who publicly betrayed the interests of Czechoslovakia.

"We concentrated on placing hostile cadres in leading and important positions of Czechoslovak missions abroad. Clementis was interested in this. As a result of this, several were able to go over into the service of the treacherous emigres. Among these was Dr. Jiri Brotan, whom we appointed First Secretary of the Czechoslovak Mission in Berne, and Klusak, who was also sent abroad. On instructions from Clementis we sent a whole number of other hostile, pro-Western, bourgeois, nationalistic, and pro-Benes elements to leading diplomatic posts abroad."

At this point the prosecutor submitted a number of documents on the appointment of Trotskyite hostile elements to diplomatic posts. London affirmed that these documents were known to him and in order.

He was then asked how the Trotskyist group was created in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and who formed its nucleus.

London: "When this group was set up I did not belong to it. However, I know from my later cooperation with members of this group that it was founded after the February events on orders from Slansky and Geminder and members whom Slansky knew personally and whose compromised past was a guarantee for their fulfilling the hostile tasks of the anti-State conspiratorial venture. Hajdu and Dufek were brought in for this reason by Geminder for hostile collaboration on cadre questions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Geminder told them to work together and to support each other by joint work to gain a decisive influence."

Prosecutor: "By dominating the leadership of the Party organization in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs you were able to carry out your criminal anti-State espionage plot? Is this correct?"

London: "This is correct."

London was then asked about the methods used for the recruitment of working class cadres into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He said that under instructions from the Central Committee of the Party on the recruitment of working class cadres, "in April 1949 workers of the Cadre Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs went into the individual regions to check the lists of persons proposed for the Workers Diplomatic School of the Ministry.

"When Slansky learned about this in April or May in 1949 he reproached me for allowing members of the Cadre Department to check the lists in the Plzen, Ostrava, and Brno regions. Slansky ordered their recall at once because this question would be dealt with personally by the regional secretaries Lomsky, Fuchs, and Sling."

This order, London added, he had carried out. After this, the recruitment of workers was sabotaged by recruiting either workers who were unable to cope with the subject, or bourgeois elements with a compromised past. Some of these had been members of Fascist organizations, volunteers for Fascist armies, fighters against partisans, and so forth.

Concerning the meetings of the members of the conspiratorial center, London said that, "After the arrest of Svermova and Karel Svab we had misgivings about our future fate." For this reason they discussed in Vale's flat how to avoid exposure. They had decided to rely on Slansky. Once before Slansky had prevented their exposure. Shortly after the Rajk trial, the Party had checked the past of some of the International Brigade in Spain. A list of those with a compromised past was to be handed by Pave to the Central Committee. The names of the Conspiratorial Center were left out of the list.

Prosecutor: "It was found out during the investigations that at the beginning you held something back. What was it?"

London: "At the beginning of the investigations I withheld some names. I did this because I knew that the head of the anti-State plot, Rudolf Slansky, was free and held one of the highest positions in the state. I relied on him and hoped for his aid. During further investi-

gations I became convinced of the futility of such behavior and decided to tell everything of my hostile activities and of the activities of my partners, including the head of the anti-State espionage plot, Rudolf Slansky, and I did so." (This ended London's examination.)

The next accused to be questioned was Vavro Hajdu, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, an old agent of the Intelligence Service and a Zionist.

Prosecutor: "Do you plead guilty in the sense of the indictment?"

Hajdu: "I do."

Prosecutor: "Explain your guilt."

Majdu: "I am guilty of having been a member of the Anti-State Conspiratorial Center in Czechoslovakia, led by Rudolf Slansky. On instructions from Slansky and Geminder, I carried out active hostile activities against the Communist Party and the people of Czechoslovakia. This hostile activity aimed at the overthrow of the People's Democratic Regime, the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, and the country's breaking away from the camp of peace and democracy led by the USSR.

"Until my arrest I was a member of the Trotskyist group in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs created by Geminder. The aim of this group was to get hold of important posts in the Ministry. One means to this end was to gain control of the leadership of the Party organization in the Ministry. They had placed bourgeois cadres in important positions so that they were able to extend relations with the capitalist countries.

"I also plead guilty of having been a spy in British service from 1941 until my arrest. I supplied the British Secret Service with various espionage reports. As Deputy Minister of For-

eign Affairs, I betrayed the interests of my state by being an imperialist agent and by betraying important secrets relating to Czechoslovak policy on international affairs."

Prosecutor: "Under what conditions did you begin your plotting activities against People's Democratic Czechoslovakia?"

Hajdu: "In 1939 I returned from Paris with Clementis, who even then openly admitted in conversations his anti-Soviet attitude and his hostility on the question of the German-Soviet Pact and the Finnish-Soviet War."

Hajdu had fallen under Clementis' influence and met him often between 1940 and 1945 in England.

Prosecutor: "During the investigations you said that in 1941 you were enrolled by the British police in Wivelscombe. Tell us all the facts about this."

Hajdu: "I confirm my earlier statements. In 1941 I was enrolled by the British police in Wivelscombe and I undertook to supply espionage reports on political and economic matters in Czechoslovakia."

Prosecutor: "Now tell us about the circumstances—how you were enrolled by the British for espionage services."

Hajdu: "In 1941 I was called to the police office in Wivelscombe under the pretext of giving some information about my past. I was led to the head of police. When he saw that I was still in Slovakia in 1939 he asked me about some industrial undertakings there. I gave him information about some factories in the neighborhood of Bratislava which I knew. The head of the police was satisfied with my information and asked me to supply similar information in the future."

Prosecutor: "Did you agree to this?"

Hajdu: "I promised to supply the British police with reports of interest to them."

Prosecutor: "Did you sign an undertaking?"

Hajdu: "The head of the police gave me the text of an agreement and I signed it."

A deposition was then read by Hajdu's wife, Mrs. Karola Hajdu, confirming the above.

Prosecutor: "In what way did you continue to cooperate with the British espionage service?"

Hajdu: "I soon came to the conviction that the British police were in fact not interested in my reports about industry in Slovakia. This was only a pretext to get me to sign the undertaking . . . Even then, their main task was to build up their agency among the emigres in preparation for the time after the War. The British again took up espionage connections with me in 1946 when I worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague. I again worked for them and from 1946 to 1950 I had frequent contacts with various British spies who held responsible positions in the British diplomatic service and to whom I gave important reports about decisions of the Czechoslovak government on international questions. By doing so I betrayed the interests of the Czechoslovak people."

Prosecutor: "From what you have said, it is clear that you returned to Czechoslovakia not only as an enemy of the Czechoslovak People's Democratic Republic, but also as an enrolled spy of imperialist Britain."

Hajdu: "Yes, because of my past, my Trotskyist opinions and my connections in London, I returned to Prague with a hostile attitude toward the USSR and the People's Democracies and as an enrolled spy of the British Secret Service."

Hajdu then explained how he noticed that Clementis was pursuing a foreign policy on

Benes' conceptions and placing people with a pro-Western attitude in important posts. Clementis had told him that all important questions had to be decided by Slansky.

It had become clear to him as early as 1947 that Slansky, Geminder, and Clementis were carrying on a policy hostile to the People's Democratic Regime. In discussions with Geminder, they had found out that they held the same hostile opinions and this had become the basis of their friendship. Geminder had then recruited him for the plot.

Prosecutor: "What concretely was your plotting activity in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs?"

Hajdu: "In 1947 we began to set up Trotskyist groups in the Ministry. At that time, Slansky appointed to the Ministry the Trotskyist Dufek, my old friend from London."

In 1948, hostile elements were planned in missions abroad. After February 1948, Geminder had given him and Dufek "hostile instructions to step up their activities in order to capture the most important positions in the Ministry and thus be able to carry out their anti-People's democratic aims."

Asked who had been in charge of the Trotskyite group in the Foreign Ministry, Hajdu named Geminder. Hajdu had first met Slansky in person in the autumn of 1947 on the eve of an official journey to western Germany which he was to undertake together with General Pika.

Interrupted by the prosecutor with a request to state who Pika was, Hajdu called him "a reactionary, a Benes agent, the head of the Czechoslovak Military Mission in Moscow during the Second World War, who was eventually unmasked as an enemy of Popular Democratic Czechoslovakia."

Three days before his departure, Hajdu continued, he had seen Slansky and discussed his trip with him. Slansky had told him on this occasion that he knew General Pika to be a British agent.

Hajdu then described his contacts with Gladwyn Jebb. "In the summer of 1946, I was sent by Clementis to the Paris Conference of the Council of Foreign Ministers as the Czechoslovak government's observer. There I called on Gladwyn Jebb, a senior official of the British Foreign Office, at the Hotel Georges Cinq. I had known him from earlier negotiations in London and Paris. I wanted to discuss with him, as the senior member of the British delegation, our demands in connection with the peace treaty with Hungary. Jebb invited me to come to the bar with him to have a drink because we should then be able to talk better. In the course of the conversation he told me he knew that I had signed on with the British police at Wiveliscombe and suggested that I should, therefore, continue my espionage connections with him."

Prosecutor: "Did he ask you about any matters constituting state secrets?"

Hajdu: "Jebb asked me a few general questions about the Foreign Ministry—what the real position was between Masaryk, Clementis, and Heidrich; what relations were like between them; how the Ministry was organized; what position I held, and what my prospects were for the future."

"I informed him in detail about conditions in the Ministry and told him that we were preparing a Peace Treaty with Germany. In the course of our conversation he then said that we should meet again and reach agreement with one another."

Prosecutor: "Agreement about what?"

Hajdu: "Agreement about our future collaboration."

Prosecutor: "And did you meet Jebb again?"

Hajdu: "Yes, in October 1946 when I was in Paris as the Czechoslovak Delegate to the Peace Conference. Jebb invited me to dinner. At this dinner I told him, at his request, what the Czechoslovak delegation's views were on the progress of the Peace Conference and what preparations we were making for further negotiations. At the end of our talks, Jebb was highly satisfied with my espionage information and told me that Britain counted on my further cooperation."

Prosecutor: "Were you aware that this information was a state secret?"

Hajdu: "Yes."

Prosecutor: "And that you should have kept absolute silence about it?"

Hajdu: "Yes."

Prosecutor: "Why did you betray it?"

Hajdu: "Because I had been enlisted."

At this point the prosecution produced a photograph and asked Hajdu to identify the person shown with Masaryk. Hajdu identified him as Gladwyn Jebb, the man he had supplied with espionage material over several years. Asked for further details of his espionage work, Hajdu continued:

"In the autumn of 1947 Clementis sent me to London to attend the meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers. On this occasion I called on Dean, the head of the German Section of the Foreign Office, who was a member of the British delegation. In our conversation, Dean told me he knew about my collaboration with Jebb and that Jebb had told him to get in touch with me to accept from me espionage reports about the attitude and the views and preparations of the

Czechoslovak government for this Conference and about the Czechoslovak government's views on questions to be discussed at the Conference. I gave this information to Dean."

Prosecutor: "What further information did you give to this British spy?"

Hajdu: "About a month later, at the end of the Conference, I met the English spy, Dean, again at his request, and told him the Czechoslovak government's views on the progress of the Conference just concluded."

Asked what he knew about Clementis' conspiratorial work in the Foreign Ministry, Hajdu replied that he knew that "at the Paris Peace Conference, Clementis openly adopted a hostile attitude to Popular Democratic Hungary, artificially creating difficulties on the subject of a population exchange between Hungary and Czechoslovakia, thereby intensifying the tension between the two countries, worsening relations between them, and thus aiding the imperialist camp."

He also knew that "Clementis had had a spy net organized in Hungary by the former General Dastich and that he received espionage reports from Dastich about the political and economic situation in Hungary." The agents who supplied this information had to be paid in dollars, and Clementis had personally told him once that Dastich had come to Prague from Budapest for a large sum in dollars in order to buy a major piece of information.

Prosecutor: "On what cadres did Clementis rely in his work?"

Hajdu: "It was generally known that the Foreign Ministry was a bulwark of Benes reaction. At its head stood two exponents of this reaction — Masaryk and Clementis."

"When a change in the person of the Foreign Minister came about in March, 1948, (this was Hajdu's way of referring to Masaryk's mysterious suicide. Clementis was full of praise for Benes and said that he owed it to him alone that he had become Foreign Minister."

Prosecutor: "And that is why Clementis so eagerly protected the reactionary cadres at the time of the purge in the Foreign Ministry?"

Hajdu: "After February 1948, Clementis did indeed try to prevent the hostile reactionary elements from being removed from the foreign ministry."

Hajdu said that the same had happened during the reorganization of the Ministry in 1949. "But we did not succeed in carrying out criminal intentions to fruition in the Foreign Ministry. In March 1950, Clementis was recalled from his post and we had to tread warily so as to conceal our hostile intentions."

Asked about further aspects of his work for Western imperialist spies, Hajdu continued:

"In the summer of 1949 I was sent to Paris by Clementis as the Czechoslovak government's observer at the meeting of the Conference of Foreign Ministers when the German problem was discussed. At the request of the former British Ambassador in Prague, Dixon, I called on the British spy Dean, who was a member of the British delegation, and informed him about the Czechoslovak government's views on the various questions discussed at the Conference."

Prosecutor: "Why did the British Ambassador in Czechoslovakia, Dixon, send you to Dean in 1949?"

Hajdu: "Because I had maintained espionage collaboration with him. Roughly, at the beginning of May 1949 I met Dixon, the former British Ambassador in Prague, at a dinner at the U.S.

Embassy. He suggested that we sit in a quiet corner where we could talk undisturbed. He then told me that he was acquainted with my collaboration with Jebb of the Foreign Office and he regarded it his duty to work together with me in espionage matters.

"As this was shortly before the Foreign Minister's Conference he asked me about the Czechoslovak government's attitude and preparations for this Conference, about the Czechoslovak government's views on the individual questions to be discussed at the conference, and about various other problems affecting Germany. I gave him this espionage information. He then suggested that I call on Dean when I got to Paris and discuss these things with him. I answered Dixon's questions and gave him espionage information.

Asked whether he had also spied for the British espionage service when he attended the United Nations Assembly in the autumn of 1950, Hajdu stated:

"At the United Nations Assembly in 1950 I met my old friend Jebb who was the permanent British delegate to the United Nations. At his request I informed him about the Czechoslovak delegation's views on the course of the session and on the lines on which I intended to make my report to the Czechoslovak government."

The prosecution then asked Hajdu to speak of his espionage contacts with the former French Ambassador in Prague, DeJean.

Hajdu: "This is how my contacts with DeJean started. In the spring of 1947, at a reception at the British Embassy, DeJean came to me and told me that he knew of my collaboration with the British. He had not, however, spoken to anybody about it because, as a matter of fact, he would like some information for himself, and

nobody need hear about it. From that time on, Dejean used to receive various important espionage reports from me about Czechoslovak policy on international questions, mainly about Czechoslovakia's political negotiations.

"In 1949 I informed him about the reorganization of the Foreign Ministry. I told him about my new position and my sphere of competence, about the new conditions in the Ministry, and what personnel and their changes had taken place. Dejean thus was informed by me about matters which ought to have been kept secret in the interests of the Republic.

"In 1949 Dejean asked me to intervene in favor of the condemned French woman spy, Pospisilova. During the same year he asked me to intervene in the matter of the espionage affair of the former French military attache in Prague, Eliot. He asked that this espionage affair not be published in Czechoslovakia. In connection with the French-Czechoslovak trade agreement, he asked that the question of the payment of interest on the old Austro-Hungarian debt be discussed.

"I tried to comply with Dejean's requests by giving twisted or inaccurate information to Deputy Siroky, who at that time represented Clementis during his absence. All these instances of my espionage activity were treason against the interests of the Czechoslovak people."

The prosecution submitted a number of documents confirming Hadju's evidence. Hajdu accepted them as authentic and accurate.

In conclusion, Hajdu said that he had made a full confession of the part he had played in the conspiracy headed by Slansky. He knew "that there was no point in denying it, since the whole gang of criminals had been un-

masked." (This ended the examination of Hajdu.)

The court then proceeded to examine the witness Karel Dufek.

In his deposition, the witness described the methods by which members of the Slansky group tried to fill the positions of the Party organization in the Foreign Affairs Ministry with their own nominees. The Conspiratorial Center had devised a plan for the composition of the Party Committee at the Ministry, which had to consist of agents and Trotskyites. When the Party organization at the Ministry opposed this plan, the traitors called Geminder to help them. Geminder, in the end, ordered such a composition of the Committee as would be acceptable to the treacherous Trotskyite organization.

The next witness was Vlastimil Borek, Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs, who described the methods used by Hajdu, Clementis, and London, against those at the Ministry's Party Organization who had pointed out to them their un-Communist practices.

In the recorded excerpts of Borek's deposition, the witness said that he had joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1946, and in 1946 he had become the Chairman of the Communist Party Organization at the Ministry. After February 1948, the accused Hajdu had been engaged in intrigues which had made work at the Ministry difficult. Later Dufek and London had appeared on the scene. All had been using Trotskyite methods in which they had been backed by Geminder.

They had worked toward usurping leading positions at the Ministry and to this end had tried to gain control of the Party organization there. They had slandered and incited against various people who had condemned their un-

Communist practices and eventually had removed their opponents from the Ministry.

In the end, they succeeded in gaining control of the Party organization at the Ministry. This had been achieved through machinations during an election of the Party Committee. The witness had been called in Clementis' office where, among others, Geminder had been present.

The witness had been ordered to push through a list of candidates backed by Geminder against the will of the Party member at the Ministry. This list of candidates had been headed by Dufek, who otherwise did not have a chance of becoming a member of the Party Committee. Matters had been put right with the arrival of Vice Premier Siroky at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

NOVEMBER 22, 1952 — AFTERNOON SESSION

Shortly after 1400 hours, the accused Andre Simone, whose real name is Otto Katz, was called to give his evidence. Simone was a former editor of the Communist daily, "Rude Pravo"; a cunning globe trotter, a spy without backbone, who as a son of a wealthy manufacturer, obstinately hated the working class.

Presiding Judge: "Do you plead guilty to charges as outlined in the indictment?"

Simone: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "Tell us in which way do you admit your guilt?"

Simone: "I admit my guilt in that I was a member of the treacherous Anti-State Conspiratorial Center led by Slansky. The Conspiratorial Center's aim was to overthrow the People's Democratic Regime in Czechoslovakia, the restoration of capitalism, and to transform Czechoslovakia into a colony of Western imperialists. I admit

my guilt in that I was in the service of the French, British, and U.S. espionage services, and that I was engaged in active espionage activities against People's Democratic Czechoslovakia."

Presiding Judge: "What led you to actively fight the People's Democratic Regime in Czechoslovakia?"

Simone: "I shall tell the truth. I am the son of a manufacturer and educated in the spirit of the bourgeois ideology. The working class was alien to me. This was why my surrounding was formed of people spiritually akin to me, from the ranks of traitors against the working people, Trotskyites, Right-Wing Socialists, and bourgeois elements. For 30 years I defended the bourgeois ideology, disrupted the unity of the working class and the workers' movement in various capitalist countries, and I carried on similar activities in Czechoslovakia as a participant in the Slansky's conspiracy."

The accused Simone then went on to tell the court that he already had become a Trotskyite in 1926 in Germany. At that time he got in touch with the Trotskyite Erwin Piscator, a theatrical director in Berlin.

Prosecutor: "When and how did you become associated with the French espionage service?"

Simone: "In September 1939, I pledged myself to the French Minister Mandel in Paris."

Continuing, Simone said that Mandel has maintained his own espionage service with the help of Jewish and some French capitalist magnates. In 1939 Mandel had discussed with the accused the Daladier Plan and had told him about his belief that a second World War would break out. Mandel had expected Germany's defeat and had stressed the point that after the war matters would have to be settled with the Soviet Union.

The accused had agreed with Mandel's views and had told him that he, Mandel, could always rely on his cooperation. In November 1939, shortly after the accused had begun to work for the Czechoslovak Information Bureau in Paris which was under the direction of Ripka, Mandel had given the accused the task of finding out whether Benes and Ripka desired an agreement with Deladier. The accused reported back to Deladier and at the end of 1939 he left France for the United States.

Prosecutor: "In 1939 you pledged your cooperation to the British Intelligence Service. Tell us about it."

Simone: "I pledged my collaboration with the British Intelligence Service in Paris in 1939 in the office of the agent Paul Willert."

Prosecutor: "How were you enlisted for collaboration with the British Intelligence Service?"

Simone: "In April 1939 I became acquainted with Willert in New York. He was then Director of the New York office of the Oxford University Press. Before my departure from France I was told that Willert already had worked with Traegler who later betrayed the German Communist Party."

Prosecutor: "Who is Willert?"

Simone: "Willert is the son of Sir Arthur Willert, who after the First War became the head of the Press Department in the British Foreign Office. Brenda, wife of Paul Willert, is the daughter of a British Lord whose family enriched itself through oil business in Mexico."

Prosecutor: "When did you meet Willert?"

Simone: "I was invited to a dinner in a restaurant near the Comedie Francaise. During our first meeting Willert told me that he was working for the British Intelligence Service. He asked me to meet his chief, Noel Coward, who

at the time held an important position in the British Intelligence Service. I lunched with Noel Coward in Willert's presence in a private room in a Paris restaurant."

Prosecutor: "Who is this Coward?"

Simone: "Coward is a British novelist and playwright whose works are very popular in the Anglo-Saxon world. In France in 1939 and during the War, Coward never hid the fact that he was working for the Intelligence Service. His appearance was full of confidence and vanity."

Prosecutor: "What did you discuss at your meeting with Coward?"

Simone: "Coward told me at the very beginning that he knew about my collaboration with important French circles and named certain members of these circles. He pointed out that this method of collaboration did not meet the present day needs. He then appealed to me to join him. I told him that I would think it over and we agreed on a further meeting, at which I pledged myself to work for the British Intelligence Service."

Prosecutor: "When did you sign your pledge to collaborate with the British Intelligence Service?"

Simone: "This happened later when I met Willert in the Paris Cafe Marino. In a brief conversation, I told him that I accepted his proposal to work for the British Intelligence Service. Willert replied that it was customary that every agent of the British Intelligence Service pledge himself in writing. We walked for about 10 to 12 minutes to Willert's office. It was only partly furnished as an office. There was a steel cabinet and a typewriter table. Willert sat at the typewriter and began to write out the pledge for my collaboration with the British Intelligence Serv-

ice. It was written in three copies in English and the last copy was on blue paper."

Prosecutor: "Did any of these copies come into your hands?"

Simone: "Yes, all three."

Prosecutor: "What are the contents of the pledge?"

Simone: "In the document I pledged myself to supply the British Intelligence Service with reports on all questions in which it was interested. The document further stated that my pledge must be kept secret in all circumstances, that I pledge myself of my own free will, and that I take upon myself the responsibility for all consequences. It further stated that in case of my apprehension the British authorities would in all circumstances deny my statement and testimony."

Prosecutor: "There was also something about financial compensation. Can you remember it?"

Simone: "Yes, one paragraph of the pledge stated that in case of loss or damage caused through my activities, I was entitled to compensation. Afterward I signed all three copies of the pledge with the name of Otto Katz which was my pseudonym at the time."

"Willert also asked me to provide him with three passport photographs of myself which I handed to him at our next meeting. We then proceeded to Noel Coward's office, which was on the same floor of the building, only a few doors away. Noel Coward welcomed me as the new member of the British Intelligence Service. Willert handed him all three copies of my pledge."

The Prosecutor asked Simone whether he had entertained espionage links with the Intelligence Service Agent Willert on Simone's arrival in Mexico. Simone said he had, and that Willert had put him in touch with another Intelligence Service agent in Mexico, Barratt.

At the beginning of 1944 Barratt left Mexico and Simone was put in touch with the British Vice Consul whose name he could not remember. These two men had asked him for information about the organization and the activities of exiles, including communist organizations, and plans of the Mexican government. Simone admitted to having passed on regular information on these subjects throughout his stay in Mexico.

In February 1946 before his departure to Czechoslovakia he had been asked by the British Vice Consul to report in London to Willert, which he did do. He met Willert twice in London in April. Simone told the court that he informed Willert on the first occasion that in New York he, Simone, had agreed with the Jewish Nationalist and U.S. Intelligence Agent David Schoenbrunn to cooperate on behalf of the U.S. Intelligence service.

Willert had then informed him that he would then ask for further instructions and at the second meeting it had been agreed that Simone should continue his cooperation with the intelligence service. Simone was to write to Willert, by letters addressed to Hamish Hamilton, Publishers, as soon as he knew his, Simone's, address in Europe. A few days after that conversation with Willert, he left by air for Czechoslovakia where he continued his cooperation with the intelligence service.

Simone then told the court that he had left Czechoslovakia in 1922 and returned there in 1946. The witness was asked to explain in greater detail the situation in which he had undertaken to cooperate with Schoenbrunn. He said that he had done so in New York in 1946, induced by Schoenbrunn's statement that the U.S. Secret Service was in possession of Simone's

undertaking vis-a-vis the French Minister Mandel.

Schoenbrunn had told him that if the Communist Party learned of that fact it would have serious repercussions for Simone. The accused added that he did not want his hostile activities to be known to the Communist Party and so in February 1946 he had met Schoenbrunn again — on his return journey from Mexico to Czechoslovakia — in New York.

They met at a restaurant and Schoenbrunn informed him that he was instructed by the U.S. Secret Service to negotiate with him. Schoenbrunn emphasized that the United States was conducting the same policy as Mandel, who, if he were still alive, would wholeheartedly back Washington. Mandel had rendered splendid service to Capitalist Jewry.

Schoenbrunn said: "It is the duty of every Jew to support the Americans even if he does not agree with every detail of their policy." Simone's best way of showing his support was by providing "information" which the Prosecutor interpreted as meaning "espionage information."

Simone then explained that he knew of the background of Schoenbrunn. He was the son of a Jewish capitalist who migrated to the United States before the first world war. In 1946-47 Schoenbrunn was in the service of the U.S. Overseas News Agency "which is an organ of the U.S. Jewish Capitalists," financed among others by Bernard Baruch. This agency "is one of the important links among the U.S. Zionists and Jewish Nationalists in the United States and cooperates closely with the State Department." Through this agency the U.S. Psychological Warfare Board was spreading "outrageous lies and slander against the peace camp." Simone knew all this when he agreed to work for Schoenbrunn.

He was then asked to say something more about the U.S. Psychological Warfare Board. He said that the members were officials of the State Department, War Department, the Catholic and Protestant churches, and Jewish organizations.

The board "organizes murder, sabotage, and diversionary activities in China, and so forth. It had at its disposal hundreds of millions of dollars of the mutual security act with which to achieve the same purposes in the USSR and the people's democracies, as well as for the recruitment of emigres for the U.S. forces. The correct name for the board ought to be the "U.S. Board for a shooting war and for the liquidation of progressive people, for murderous atomic aggression of the USSR and the people's democracies, and for the elimination of anything in the way of the U.S. Imperialists."

Simone agreed with the Prosecutor that he had returned to Czechoslovakia in 1946 as a "triple agent of the British, U.S., and French Intelligence Services." His return had been made possible by Dr. Ripka.

In March 1946 he had approached Slansky to find out whether he was to stay in Czechoslovakia or to go to Germany. Slansky decided that he should stay, and two weeks later Slansky asked him in at his apartment about his life abroad.

Simone, realizing that all his Trotskyite activities were well known, had given Slansky a full report about his close connections with Jewish Nationalists and Zionist circles in Mexico and as editor of an Israelite paper.

Slansky had accepted this news as a matter of course. Slansky had shown particular interest in the activities of Earl Browder, former Secretary General of the U.S. Communists, "Unmasked

in 1944 as an enemy of the working people. His interest in details of Browder's technique as a liquidator" became understandable to Simone only later when he realized that Slansky wanted to "emulate Browder and Tito in usurping power and liquidating the Marx-Lenin Communist Party of Czechoslovakia," whereby he would have tried to destroy the popular Democratic regime.

Simone then referred to a later conversation with Slansky, in which the offer was made to him to take charge of the International Department of the central committee of the Czechoslovakia Communist Party.

In 1946 Slansky told him of the need to "popularize Tito and Yugoslavia's specific roads to socialism." At that time he had not known that Slansky had talked with Tito. Slansky had also shown great interest in cooperation with the Zionists and Jewish Nationalists in Mexico.

The presiding judge asked Simone why he though Slansky had confided to him his "hostile intentions."

Simone replied: "He wanted to ensnare me in his Conspiratorial Center in Czechoslovakia." Due to Simone's background, Slansky had found it easy to win him over.

With a view to promoting the conspiratorial design, Slansky had obtained an important position for Simone on "Rude Pravo," at a substantial financial gain.

The Prosecutor wanted to know more details of the manner in which Slansky "planted" Simone on the "Rude Pravo."

Simone said that in May 1946 he had discussed in Slansky's study a number of articles he was to write about him. Slansky desired to be portrayed as the chief actor in the Slovak National rising and wanted the decisive role of the Czechoslovak Communist Party to be suppressed. Slan-

sky showed himself satisfied with the article written in that spirit and said: "This is the way articles ought to be written."

Describing conditions in "Rude Pravo," Simone said that the paper had been under Slansky's "iron control" and that no article could be published without the consent of Slansky or one of his associates.

"In the spring of 1946 Slansky tried to suppress one of the important pre-election speeches of the Party Chairman, Gottwald, by moving it from the front page to page two. Slansky also sabotaged the popularization of the peaceful policy of the USSR, and after February 1948 Slansky instructed me to write a short note instead of a leading article on the Soviet Government's proposal to the U.S. government with regard to the discussion of disputed questions. In the autumn of 1948, after the Party Chairman Gottwald had stressed the importance of close links between the Press and the Masses, Slansky and his gang decided to oppose this."

On Simone's appointment as head of the press department in the Ministry of Information in May 1946, Slansky had told him to maintain unofficial relations with Capitalist correspondents and "he told me exactly: 'You know how to get on with them.' In the spring of 1947 I informed Slansky in his office about my relations with western journalist agents."

Prosecutor: "That means that you confided in Slansky in respect to your espionage links with America and Britain?"

Simone: "I spoke about this with him as early as 1946 when he came to Paris for the Peace Conference. During our conversation in May 1946 I informed Slansky in the following words with regard to the Foreign Journalists: 'You know that everything I tell them is passed on.' Slan-

sky agreed with this. I gave particularly detailed information to Slansky on that occasion about my relations with American Agent Maurice Hindus.

"Before my departure for the Paris Peace Conference in June 1946 Slansky instructed me to cooperate closely with Clementis."

Simone said he had informed Slansky in Paris in September 1946 that "together with Clementis, I was engaged in supplying western journalists with news. Slansky replied that Clementis had already told him."

After 1946 Simone continued to receive secret reports from Clementis. "Clementis knew that the reports he gave to me were being used for the information of western spies, who even visited me in my flat for this purpose. Clementis fully agreed with my activities."

Prosecutor: "And for this reason Clementis gave you a reward of crowns 50,000 in the autumn of 1947."

Simone: "Clementis told me that he intended to give me crowns 50,000 in view of my expenses incurred in my contacts with foreign journalists."

Prosecutor: "This means that in effect, Clementis financed your espionage activities in connection with western journalists who, in reality, were nothing but Imperialist spies?"

Simone: "... Clementis financed my espionage activities."

In March 1948 Slansky had instructed Simone to write a book on the February events in a Trotskyite spirit. "Slansky asked me to describe him as the Chief personality of the February events. When he described these events to me, he always put himself in the foreground, in the Titoist manner."

Slansky had told Simone to model his book on "Ten Days Which Shook the World," which

was written in the Trotskyite spirit. "By falsifying history, Slansky wanted to gain popularity among the Czechoslovak people and to suppress the leading and decisive part played by the Party Chairman, Gottwald." However, Simone did not write this book because it would have exposed him immediately as a Trotskyite and an enemy of the Czechoslovak people.

Slansky's instructions to Simone with regard to relations with Foreign Journalists had not changed after February 1948. "He told me that these relations were even more important after February 1948 and that the hostile policy of our anti-State center had remained unchanged."

Simone had renewed his contacts with the Intelligence Service Agent, Willert, in August 1946 at the Paris Peace Conference, when he supplied him with a detailed report of his activities in Czechoslovakia and when "I told him that Slansky had his own notions and plans for future development in Czechoslovakia." Willert had asked many questions about Slansky.

Simone also had informed Willert of his cooperation with Clementis. Willert had encouraged him "to strengthen relations with Slansky and Clementis and told me to make use of Slansky's instructions with regard to my contacts with Foreign Journalists to furnish reports to all British Agents who might call on me."

Prosecutor: "Who contacted you and gave you the password agreed upon with Willert after your return from the Peace Conference?"

Simone: "In 1947 the British spy, Alexander Werth, called me up and asked me to meet him. We met in the National Club where Werth immediately identified himself with Willert's password. From 1947 on I had espionage contacts with the British spy, Alexander Werth, on the occasion of his trips to Czechoslovakia right up

to the autumn of 1949. I met him four times, always after telephone conversations.

"I used to meet Werth either in the Hotel Alcron, in the National Club, or in the restaurant Lippert. With every important report which I gave to Werth, I quoted its source. Werth always asked me about my work and my position and always showed interest in the development of my relations with Slansky and Clementis."

On his return from Mexico to Czechoslovakia in 1946 Simone met the U.S. spy, David Schoenbrunn. He went on to describe later relations with Schoenbrunn:

"I met the United States spy Schoenbrunn four or five times during the Paris Peace Conference, mainly in a restaurant in the vicinity of the French Senate or on the Boulevard St. Germain. I supplied him with anti-Hungarian reports, information about Czechoslovak-French negotiations, and about the instructions issued by the Czechoslovak Government to the Czechoslovak Delegation in Paris. I also gave detailed information to Schoenbrunn about Clementis' meeting with the Hungarian Foreign Minister. I also told him about Czechoslovak-Polish negotiations for a cultural agreement left out of the report prepared by Clementis for the Hungarian Commission of the Conference.

"In 1947 the U.S. spy Schoenbrunn came to Czechoslovakia and visited me at home. I also met him in the Hotel Esplanade. On these occasions I supplied him with secret reports about Czechoslovak-French negotiations and about the demands which the Czechoslovak Government intended to make to the Four-Power Conference on Germany. I told him all I knew about Czechoslovak-Polish and Czechoslovak-Hungarian negotiations. I advised him to con-

tact Clementis, and I myself enabled him to do this.

"During the Paris Peace Conference, the U.S. spy Schoenbrunn presented me to the U.S. spy Howard Smith. I gave secret reports to Smith long before their official publication."

Simone stated that information for his espionage reports had been given to him by Slansky, Geminder, Loebl, Frejka, Clementis, and Hajdu.

"When I was unable to supply these western agents with the information they required, I put them in touch with other members of the espionage center, above all, Slansky. In March 1948 I arranged a meeting between Slansky and two hostile labor members of Parliament, Crossman and Wigg. I arranged this meeting by telephone and it was to be held in the Communist Party Secretariat. Slansky wanted me to act as interpreter at this meeting but as I could not do this he used Vilen Novy as an interpreter. After his return to Britain, Crossman wrote a number of hostile articles against People's Democratic Czechoslovakia.

"During the Paris Peace Conference I put Clementis in touch with the U.S. Agents Schoenbrunn, Howard Smith, and Edgar Ansel Mowrer. Later I arranged meetings of Schoenbrunn and Hindus with Clementis."

Asked by the presiding Judge whether he wished to supplement his evidence by any statement, Simone added:

"As a conspirator I am responsible for every action and crime of each Jewish member of the conspiratorial center.

"Which are the countries where fierce anti-semitism is on the increase? The United States and Great Britain. I have joined the spies of those states. Which country has a law against racialism and anti-semitism? The USSR. I

have joined U.S., British, and French anti-semites against the Soviet Union. Therein lies my crime.

"I am a writer, supposedly an architect of the soul. What sort of architect have I been—I who have poisoned people's souls? Such an architect of the soul belongs to the gallows. The only service I can still render is to warn all who by origin or character are in danger of following the same path to hell. The sterner the punishment" (This ended the examination of Simone.)

NOVEMBER 22, 1952 — EVENING SESSION

Ludvik Freund, alias Frejka," who had usurped one of the most influential posts in Czechoslovak economy and who had caused damage amounting to billions of koruna through his sabotage. He was questioned by the presiding judge of the court, Dr. Novak.

Presiding Judge: "Do you plead guilty in the sense of the indictment?"

Frejka: "I do."

Judge: "Tell us about your guilt."

Frejka: "I admit that until my arrest I was an active member of the Conspiratorial Center led by the accused Slansky. I further admit to having been an agent of the Intelligence Service since 1941 and to having made contact during the second world war with Konni Zilliacus and the important U.S. spy, Hermann Field."

Judge: "What was your contact with Zilliacus and Field after the war?"

Frejka: "After the war I renewed my contact with Zilliacus and Field in Czechoslovakia as a member of the anti-State plot. I met them on various occasions in Prague and made available to them important espionage reports, mainly on the Czechoslovak economy. By doing so I

have endangered the country's security. Furthermore, for the purpose of evaluating the espionage material, I recruited other members of the conspiratorial center, namely Josef Goldmann and Evzen Loebel." Slansky had cooperated.

Frejka also pleaded guilty to having "spread the opportunity theory among the masses of Czechoslovakia that Socialism can be built without the dictatorship of the Proletariat." This was done for the purpose of promoting the interests of the Western Imperialists. He had also denied the inevitability of the intensification of the class war and preached "cooperation with the exploiter classes and their lackeys." The spreading of these opportunist theories had enabled the plotters to avoid exposure for years.

Judge: "How did you hamper the building of Socialism in practice?"

Frejka replied that they had done so "by wrecking and sabotage."

In the spheres of planning, industry, commerce, finance, agriculture, and so forth. "We strengthened and extended Czechoslovakia's dependence on the United States, Britain, and their satellites. We further hampered the utilization of Soviet experience in building Socialism. On the other hand, we closely collaborated with the Tito clique, although we were aware of their anti-Soviet attitude. Even before the Cominform resolution, for example, I and Slansky knew from the Yugoslav commercial attache in Prague, Barbalic, of the Titoist adventure of creating the so-called European Federation."

On Slansky's instruction and on his own initiative he had sabotaged economic planning together with his accomplice, Josef Goldmann. In the sphere of heavy industry, for example, they had purposely left out of the plan the utilization

of "a whole number of important iron ore bearing areas." In this way they had assured the dependence of the iron and steel industry on imports which came mainly from the West.

Judge: "What were your crimes in the sphere of fuel and power?"

Frejka: "In this sphere, we created such a disproportion between supply and demand that the supply of fuel and power suffered, as is well known, continual interruptions. I believe that the liquidation of this sabotage of ours will take a long time."

Judge: "What was the effect of your sabotage in industry?"

"Frejka: "Together with my accomplices, I committed terrific sabotage in industry, mainly by wrongly distributing investments and by directing them to unproductive industry."

Frejka and his accomplices had also planned for too low a productive plan capacity. They had sabotaged the chemical, machine building, leather, and rubber industries. They had also sabotaged foreign trade. In the sphere of supply, the group had committed "extensive wrecking and sabotage and created a situation that in Czechoslovakia exists even today."

Presiding Judge: "We shall deal with these concrete facts later."

Frejka: "In England in 1941 I undertook to cooperate with the Intelligence Service. In July 1940 I was arrested by the British authorities as a Communist. I was interned in an internment camp. A tribunal decided I should be released.

"In September 1941, the time of my release, I was called to the camp authorities to see the captain of the Intelligence Service, Fidler. On his proposal, I signed a pledge that I would support the war aims of the British Empire and that I would work for Britain after the war."

Frejka confirmed the Presiding Judge's opinion that he had returned to Czechoslovakia as an agent of the Intelligence Service and of the Benes clique.

Frejka described how he returned immediately after the War through the help of Lausman. He reported to the Communist Party and was told by Slansky that he need not report to Lausman since he, Slansky, had a job for him. "From this I gathered that Slansky and Lausman had come to an agreement about me." Slansky gave him the post of economic adviser to the then Deputy Premier Gottwald and also of Secretary to the Economic Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

He had been instructed to work on Slansky's directives and "had agreed with Slansky to work together for the strengthening of economic relations with the capitalist countries." They had also agreed to fill the most important posts with "old capitalist so-called experts. We also agreed to recall Josef Goldmann and Bedrich Lewit from England in order to place them in influential positions in the economic sector."

He had further agreed with Slansky "to preserve the prewar structure of the economy in the way desired by the capitalists." In this way they had aimed at preserving Czechoslovakia's dependence on the capitalist West. This was the manner in which he had joined the Conspiratorial Center.

Asked about the placement of their people, Frejka replied that he had placed "our direct collaborators" in important posts — Dr. Vojtech Jancik-Jung in the . . . Department, Joseph Goldman in the Planning Department, U.S. spy Herman Field and Dr. Kurt Markus in the Foreign Trade Department. Slansky himself was interested in the latter. Frantisek Kolar, Frejka's

deputy, carried out sabotage at his, Frejka's, instruction.

Regarding the placement of hostile persons in the economic sector, Frejka named "our direct confederates" who had been given important positions. They included the "Jewish bourgeois nationalist and Ripka agent Loebl, and Margolius, who had a Zionist past," both of whom became Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade. Other confederates were:

"The old servant of the international financial magnates, the Rothschilds," Dr. Frantisek Fabinger, who became director general of the metal industry and later of heavy engineering, and who "used his positions to sabotage the building up of heavy engineering industry;"

Inq. Jaroslav Jicinsky, Director General of Foundries and "old agent of prewar capitalism, who systematically undermined the building up of the foundry industry and prevented it from becoming the basis of Czechoslovak industry as a whole, thus serving the Western imperialists;"

Dr. Jaroslav Tichy, Director General of the Chemical Industry, "an old devotee of Fascism, collaborator with the Nazis, and member of the anti-Bolshevik League, who sabotaged the development of the chemical industry;"

Deputy Director General of the Power Industry, cosmopolite Barta-Bronstein, who had particularly close relations with Slansky and who "used his position to sabotage the power supply of our industry.

Svatopluk Rada, Director General of Mines and later Deputy Minister of Industry, who "slowed up the development of fuel and ore supplies."

In the sector of Light Industry, Frejka listed Dr. Ivan Holy, "a typical product of the Bata System and a Gestapo agent," who became suc-

cessively Director General of the Leather and Rubber Industry, Director General of the Textile Industry, and Deputy Minister of Industry, as one of the conspirators' allies. The hostile aims of the anti-State center were carried out by Holy, inasmuch as he "supported the disproportionate development of Light Industry."

Goldmann and "the international arms merchant, factory and estate owner Eduard Outrata", had been active in the field of economic planning. In the Financial Sector, Slansky himself had recruited the "bourgeois lawyer and Zionist Otto Fischl, who carried out Slansky's directives in the Ministry of Finance."

Other hostile elements included the Trotskyite Vlk, General Manager of Salvage Collection; the nationalist Josef Trojan, Manager of the Leather and Rubber Industry in Slovakia; the Jewish bourgeois Dr. Otto Eisler, Deputy Director General of the Chemical Industry; the Zionist . . . , Chief Secretary to Fabinger; and Dr. Vojtech Schlesinger, Director-General of the "Metrans" international carrier monopoly. A number of the nominees appointed to important positions with Frejka's aid deserted to the imperialists after February 1948. These included former Bata employees like Dr. Cvachovec, Jan Kucera, Simandl, and the former factory owner Eckart.

The conspirators had seized control of the Central Economic Commission—the most important economic authority—by means of Frejka's own appointment as Chairman and by the appointment of Goldmann, the "career-seeking spy Milan Reiman," and the "petty bourgeois intellectual Kilar."

"Slansky and Frejka had also created a large number of various economic sections and commissions where the same people had held influential positions. Thus Loebl had been Chair-

man of the Foreign Trade Section; Fabringer, Chairman of the Metals Section; Barta, Chairman of the Power Section; Tichy, Chairman of the Chemical Industry Section; and Holy, Chairman of the Leather and Rubber Section.

"These people, thanks to their various positions and plurality, combined the functions of administrative and controlling authorities and simultaneously directed the practical affairs of Czechoslovak economic life. We supplied these hostile elements with dictatorial powers for their hostile activities.

"We also seized control of regional economic commissions. We succeeded in this mainly because Slansky and Svermova appointed people like Sling, Fuchs, Landa, Lomsky, and Polak as Chief Regional Secretaries of the Party in the most industrialized regions. They were of bourgeois Jewish origin and in London during the War they had the closest contacts with imperialist circles."

The Central Economic Commission had been abolished in the autumn of 1948 for "hindering the Socialist development of our conomy. However, we managed to conceal the real reasons for the abolition of the Commission and its subordinate bodies. It was replaced in the Central Secretariat of the Communist Party by the new Department for Industry, Commerce, and Finance, and this was placed under the direction of Josef Frank, one of our fellow conspirators. The treacherous activities of the Economic Commission were continued by this department and by practically the same people."

The conspirators had assumed control of the Central Planning Commission by appointing Frejka himself, Reiman, and Goldmann as members. "Under my leadership, these men, to-

gether with other fellow conspirators, dominated the Central Planning Commission."

Slansky had seized control of the Central Association of Industry before Frejka's return from England by appointing Reimann as Secretary General of the Association, and hostile elements such as Vlk had been placed in important positions. "This Central Association of Industry and its divisions was a huge bureaucratic organization employing more than a thousand people, all of whom were old capitalist experts. During the occupation, these people ran Czechoslovak industry for the Nazis. Slansky and Frejka had kept this organization in existence right up to 1949-50 in order to have "yet another strongpoint for our hostile activities."

Replying to a question by presiding judges about his relations with Zilliacus, Frejka said:

"Zilliacus called on me in 1946 in my office in the Central Communist Party Secretariat. We were, of course, acquainted and he reminded me of my obligations by speaking about my imprisonment in England and my release from the detention camp. He also said he was glad to be able to recall our cooperation in England, which he valued highly, and he told me that he had come to re-establish contact with me and to ask me to supply him again with information about our economic life, in accordance with our agreement made in England.

"After this introduction, Zilliacus went on to the question of the external economic relations of Czechoslovakia and said he wanted to know about the Czechoslovak attitude toward economic relations with the capitalist West, particularly England. I informed him of the preparations for the two-year plan, which was being prepared in 1946. I also informed him of the nationalization of industry and banking in

Czechoslovakia, about the condition of industry and banking after nationalization, and about the difficulties we had to face.

"This conversation lasted for about three hours. Zilliacus gained a detailed survey of the state of the Czechoslovak economy from me. I told him especially about its vulnerable points by means of which the Western imperialists could exert pressure on Czechoslovakia.

"In 1947 Zilliacus again visited Czechoslovakia and on this occasion I met him several times. I gave various valuable information about the state of the Czechoslovak economy to him. In particular, I told Zilliacus about Czechoslovak foreign trade, not only with the West, but also with the USSR and the People's Democracies. Zilliacus was not satisfied with the information about the types of goods in question which he received from me, and therefore I put him in touch with another member of the espionage center, Loebel, and asked him to work out a detailed report about Czechoslovak foreign trade for Zilliacus. Loebel promised to do so.

"I informed Zilliacus about the progress of the Two Year Plan. Zilliacus showed great interest and asked for more detailed information, not only about plan fulfillment but also about Czechoslovak industrial potential. I therefore instructed Goldmann, another of the conspirators, to prepare a report, which I personally handed to Zilliacus in the Hotel Alcron.

"I saw Zilliacus again in the autumn of 1948. He told me that his stay in Czechoslovakia was ending and he was about to leave for Yugoslavia. He supported the treacherous views of Tito on that occasion and spoke against the Cominform resolution."

Judge: "What were your views on this resolution?"

Frejka: "I did not support this resolution because the aims of Tito in Yugoslavia were basically identical with ours.

"In the autumn of 1948 Zilliacus showed particular interest in questions concerning Czechoslovak foreign trade, and I enlightened him, making use of the plan fulfillment report for the first nine months of 1948."

Judge: "Were you entitled to give Zilliacus this sort of report?"

Frejka: "No."

Judge: "That means that you violated what?"

Frejka: "That means that I violated official secrets."

Judge: "You were in fact a link between the anti-State center and an imperialist spy?"

Frejka: "Yes, I was such a link. But I want to state that relations with imperialist spies, particularly with Zilliacus, were also maintained by other members of the anti-State center, above all by Slansky himself. In the autumn of 1947, about two days after my meeting with Zilliacus, Slansky called me to his office and asked me to act as interpreter in his own meeting with Zilliacus.

"On that occasion we agreed that Slansky would tell Zilliacus about the principles of economic policy and that I would fill in the details, Slansky also agreed with my intention to instruct Goldmann and Loebel to prepare detailed reports for Zilliacus. To enable Zilliacus to gain even more detailed information about Czechoslovak foreign policy, Slansky, in my presence, telephoned to arrange a meeting between Zilliacus and our fellow conspirator Clementis."

The commentator remarked on the strict division of espionage duties among the members of the conspiratorial center: Slansky supplied Zilliacus with information on domestic politics; Gem-

inder and Clementis on foreign policy; and Frejka gave economic information to Zilliacus and Field.

The commentator said that Frejka illustrated the close contacts between Zilliacus and one of the leaders of the trust fund, Field. The nature of the trust fund could best be seen from the fact that it financed — with the money the Slansky gang had from the capitalist countries — enemies of the Republic, renegades, spies, and agents sent to Czechoslovakia by the imperialists.

Presiding Judge Novak then asked Frejka to give evidence on his criminal activities and sabotage in the planning authorities.

Frejka: "In this subversive work, I acted on instructions from Slansky." When he discussed the Five Year Plan project with Slansky, the latter repeated his intention to preserve Czechoslovakia's prewar economic structure and dependence on the capitalist West. It had also been agreed to plan an excessive share in Czechoslovakia's foreign trade for the Western countries so that it would reach nearly 60 percent by 1953.

Frejka admitted to having carried all these and other directives into practice. He told the court that this was possible because they had planted their men in leading economic positions, where decisions on planning were taken.

Asked to specify some of the sabotage activities, Frejka said that they slowed down the development of heavy industry. They did not calculate the use of some important iron ore and non-ferrous metal deposits. They sabotaged the power industry. They misallocated capital investments. They deliberately planned for the utilization of industrial potential below capacity, and generally caused a great deal of waste. "A particularly effective means of sabotage" was the

prevention of the application of Soviet planning experience.

The presiding judge asked for details on each of these points — first of all, on the hampering of the development of heavy industry.

Frejka said that the implementation of the plan for the development of heavy industry was postponed until the years 1950 to 1952, whereby investment operations in the industry accumulated to such an extent that it became impossible to tackle the problem. This was the case with the construction of the Gottwald Foundries in Kuncice and a large number of other engineering plants.

Investments and resources which were to have been used for these purposes were diverted instead to "various superfluous" projects in other sectors, such as to the construction of a series of textile mills in Slovakia. In the Five Year Plan itself, this hostile policy was continued by the deliberate setting of low targets for the production of indigenous raw materials.

Furthermore, industrial production was purposely lowered by planning for a far too low utilization of available productive capacity. In the heavy engineering industry, for example, only one shift was worked, although more could have been operated. Heavy lignite cutting machinery was used for only 4 to 5 hours a day. Plans for a far too low use of available capacity were also made for the cement industry, for the production of natural and artificial fibers, and for foundries and the power industry. Another act of sabotage was the misappropriation of investment capital for purposes other than the development of heavy industry.

Efforts were made to prevent the application of Soviet planning experience. Both during the Two Year and Five Year Plan periods, the task

of concentrating on the fulfillment of specific production objectives was neglected in the metal industry and the foundries in particular. As a result, in many cases items of light instead of heavy industry were produced—that is, light electric motors instead of big ones, or small machine tools instead of large ones, and so forth.

Soviet experience was not applied in the field of planning the use of raw materials in accordance with norms. As a result of this, in 1950 for example, the metal industry's percentage of copper used for the production of some materials was two percent in Czechoslovakia, as against one percent in the USSR. Consequently there arose a copper shortage. Industrial and foreign trade sabotage further led to the total or partial failure of heavy industry to fulfill its commitments, and to great delay.

Another act of sabotage was the introduction into the Two Year Plan of a provision to the effect that the textile, rubber, and leather industries could use only such foreign exchange as they could procure through their own production for the purchase of raw materials and investment equipment abroad. These industries were thereby directly compelled to expand their exports to the West. A variety of difficulties for Czechoslovak industry arose from this at a later date, such as raw material shortages in the textile and leather industry, or thousands of millions of kcs. in export losses.

The Presiding Judge then read to Frejka from documents in the possession of the prosecution which showed the deliberate planning of the excessive expansion of the textile, rubber, and leather industries, and which showed that this policy increased Czechoslovakia's dependence on the Western capitalist countries. It also led to inordinate investments in these industries, whose

great industrial capacity was not fully used. It retarded the development of Socialism. Frejka agreed that all these observations were correct.

The defendant then enlarged upon the ways in which the building of a raw material basis for the foundry industry had been neglected. A large number of important deposits of iron ore and nonferrous metals were not taken into consideration when planning. In 1947 mining was stopped at the iron ore mine in Sternberk in Moravia. Even for 1953, a lower output of iron ore was planned for than 1948.

While cutting down iron ore production, the Five Year Plan envisaged a 70 percent increase in the production of crude iron. Thus a serious discrepancy was created, and the foundry industry was becoming even more dependent on imports of raw materials from the West. Similarly, in the production of nonferrous ores, several years were wasted as a result of sabotage. During that time large quantities could have been produced.

Frejka and his accomplices had opposed the utilization of low yield ores and geological research was sabotaged. Another means of keeping the Czechoslovak foundry industry dependent on the West was the failure to create the necessary refining facilities for nonferrous metals. As a result, some of the nonferrous metals imported from the people's democracies had to be sent for refining to Belgium. Another item not included in the Five Year Plan, Frejka said, was pyrite. Despite the fact that the country at that time was entirely dependent on imports of this raw material. There were other examples of sabotage but which Frejka did not enumerate.

Frejka proceeded to explain his sabotage activities in the power industry, on which the conspirators particularly concentrated. His own

crime was, first of all, his agreement to a plan envisaging a too low utilization of available power plants. With a view to sabotaging the industry, Slansky put Barta-Bronstein, a member of the conspiracy, in a high position, the latter concentrated his sabotage on arranging for excessive and widely dispersed construction of new power plants. While at the same time neglecting and dismantling factory power plants.

Slansky and Frank delayed the establishment of a separate ministry of fuel and power and held up the application of a national fuel consumption policy. Fabinger, director general of the metal industry, was another saboteur of the power industry. He directed the sabotage of deliveries and repairs of electrical equipment.

Power utilization figures in the Soviet Union were much higher than in Czechoslovakia, where some 25 percent of available power — as against 15 percent in the Soviet Union — was held in reserve at all times. Unnecessary power consumption peaks occurred every day, with the increasing demand for power during the winter months of 1950-51 and 1951-52 substantial breakdowns in the supply were the result of this sabotage. "The effects of this sabotage in the power industry will be felt for some time yet and it will take quite a while to remedy them."

The Presiding Judge asked Frejka about sabotage in the field of the planning of investments.

Frejka admitted carrying out his sabotage activities "under the framework of the agreement on hostile investment policy entered into with Slansky," as already stated. It affected both planning of new factories, as well as the reconstruction of old plants. In numerous instances, establishments still capable of production were destroyed and replaced with new plants, ostensibly to increase productive capacity.

Asked how this activity was carried out in the steel industry, Frejka stated that in the Koniev works four still serviceable blast furnaces had been broken up and three new ones constructed. In the Trinec Iron works, a larger and still serviceable plant had been dismantled and replaced by a new plant of approximately the same productive capacity. Huge losses had been caused to Czechoslovak economy by this method.

An expert's statement was then referred to, according to which in the case of the Trinec Iron Works, the value of the annual output of the plant, still suitable for production, represented 35 million kcs. As the result of breaking it up, the loss suffered from 1948 to 1952 amounted to over 2.5 billion kcs., to which the value of the dismantled plant — approximately 360 billion kcs. — should be added. "This approach," the statement pointed out, "has led to a slowdown and the disruption of one of the main sources of the production of pig iron, steel, and rolled products. This caused colossal losses to the Czechoslovak economy."

"Ludvik Frejka, among others, is responsible for the loss of almost 9 billion kcs. which has accrued to this country as a result of a harmful approach to the problem of alterations in Trinec," the statement charged.

The accused then admitted that "under my control, a sum of some 9 billion kcs. was frittered away in what is called the reconstruction of Trinec. We carried out further sabotage in the planning of new factories, mainly by including in the plan the construction of unnecessarily large plants in the light engineering sector of light industry. One of the branches thus affected was the production of automobiles. Other branches were the Czechoslovak leather and rubber industries."

Asked about the plan for a large automobile factory, Frejka stated that the construction of a plant with an annual capacity of some 50,000 vehicles had been under review. However, the plant had not been built. He added that this harmful increase in the productive capacity of vehicles had been directly controlled by "an agent of U.S. monopolies, Alexander Taub," and by another member of the plot, Dr. Fabinger.

"In 1946, with my approval, Dr. Fabinger invited a U.S. citizen, Alexander Taub, to be a so-called consultant for the Czechoslovak motor vehicle industry. The U.S. agent Taub controlled the Czechoslovak motor industry until about the end of 1948 with our help. We thus entrusted the control and the building of the Czechoslovak motor vehicle industry directly to an agent of U.S. monopolists. Taub, through Fabinger and with our help, was responsible for the inclusion of the plan of an increased capacity of the Czechoslovak motor vehicle industry, and in this connection, for a further dovetailing of the Czechoslovak economy with the capitalist West."

An expert's statement was then read, according to which the harmful nature of the policy of the "Imperialist Agent Taub" was its "following the purpose of linking Czechoslovak economy to the capitalist countries both as regards dependence in the import of raw materials, and in the export of its products."

Frejka confirmed that the statement was correct. "Through their agent Taub, the U.S. monopolists had a direct influence in the development of Czechoslovak industry," he added.

Asked for further details regarding the agent Taub, Frejka said he was told that Taub was paid 2,000 dollars and later, 2,500 dollars a month and in addition was given every possi-

bility to become acquainted with all Czechoslovak large metal producing plants.

Prosecutor: "Did Taub make full use of the possibilities which you granted him?"

Frejka: "Yes. We also made it possible for the U.S. Agent Taub to acquire on the spot the most confidential information and data on the largest Czechoslovak plants. When Taub, about the end of 1948, left for the United States he carried with him a number of secret and confidential plans and detailed data of both an economic and technical nature about the most important Czechoslovak metal-producing plants. He was, therefore, detained by security officials at the airport in Ruzyn. On Fabinger's request, I intervened and arranged that Taub could take away with him to the United States these papers. Thus I made it possible for our anti-State center to gain further contact with the Western imperialists."

"A further sector of heavy industry in which we carried out a faulty and harmful investment policy was the leather and rubber industry. There we had a cooperator in Dr. Ivan Holy, who took a substantial part in the sabotage activities affecting investment policy. Thus, we included first in the Two Year and then in the Five Year Plan unnecessary provisions for the establishment of a tire plant in Puchov, Slovakia, for the production of light tires. A market for these products was not safeguarded either. Thus we frittered away an additional several hundred million in capital investment."

Asked about sabotage activities affecting an oil refinery project, Frejka stated that the construction of a refinery in Slovakia was provided for in the Plan, although it was known that the necessary raw materials were not available at home, and that it would have been more econom-

ical to restore the war-damaged Bratislava Oil Refinery, as well as to manufacture a greater quantity of petrol from coal in the Stalin Works. A further sum of several hundred million kcs. had thus been unnecessarily spent.

Further large sums were frittered away in heavy engineering because existing productive capacity was not sufficiently utilized. The construction of plants was started at unsuitable places, and work had to be stopped and transferred elsewhere. Thus the construction of a large nitrogen plant in Vratimov, in the Ostrava region, had to be discontinued and begun elsewhere although even that site proved unsuitable.

There were whole series of similar cases, and these means of sabotage slowed down and damaged Czechoslovak investment reconstruction, especially in heavy industry. Tens of billions had been spent unnecessarily, while things required for the building up of Socialism had been left undone.

Asked about matters which had been neglected in the plans, Frejka referred to the steel industry where projects providing for raw materials of home origin had been omitted. Also omitted were provisions for building a rubber-making plant. "We made provisions for the processing of natural rubber which we intended to import from the West."

Asked for greater details of his sabotage activities Frejka said that they included lack of preparations and excessive dispersal. The first resulted in the costs of the Czechoslovak building industries being 15 percent in excess of what they should have been, which has caused Czechoslovak economy in recent years an annual loss of kcs. five billion. Dispersal resulted in the freezing of further huge amounts through delaying plans.

Losses under this heading were put by the expert's statement at kcs. 12 billion annually. Frejka admitted his responsibility for this loss.

Prosecutor: "How did you further sabotage intentions at the expense of the five year plan's positive points?"

Frejka: "The basic conception of the five year plan is completely correct. We, the members of the anti-State plot, have been unable to destroy this conception. We succeeded, however, as already stated, in smuggling into the plan a series of sabotage acts—those acts on which I have given evidence. I have explained how we tried to justify these acts of sabotage by alleging needs of Czechoslovak economy and how we dovetailed them with the plan. It was by this method that we succeeded in misleading responsible persons, in particular, the President of the Republic. Later it was because of the President that our acts of sabotage were successively exposed. They were then connected in the five year plan, particularly after the report made by the President of the February conference of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee in 1950 and 1951."

Prosecutor: "The sound nature of the five year plan was cleansed of your sabotage superstructure. Is that so?"

Frejka: "Yes, that is so."

Frejka was then questioned about his sabotage activities in the field of foreign trade. He stated: "In the field of foreign trade we put into effect the plotters' concept of maintaining the economic dependence of Czechoslovakia on the West—chiefly by orienting Czechoslovak foreign trade to the West—and acted against the development of trade relations with the USSR and the people's democracies."

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"We made provisions in the five year plan for excessive quantities of consumer goods to be exported to the Western countries and for an excessive import of raw materials from Western countries. Thus we proceeded in particular in planning exports of footwear, textiles, and light tires, and the import of raw textile materials, natural rubber, and leather."

Asked by the Prosecutor whether the group had intentionally led the Czechoslovak economy into dependence on the capitalist countries, and had sabotaged the development of trade relations with the USSR and the people's democracies, Frejka admitted this and stated:

"In various trade negotiations with people's democracies I pressed those countries not only to buy from us the investment goods they required to set up Socialism but also to buy quantities of consumer goods and investment goods which they did not need or which they could produce at home. In addition, I pressed countries like Bulgaria to supply industrial raw materials which were in short supply there in exchange for our deliveries. We even turned down tobacco Bulgaria offered in exchange for machinery, while we later were compelled to buy tobacco from Turkey for Western currency."

Sabotage activities against trade relations with the USSR were carried out by the accused in the autumn of 1950 during negotiations for a commercial treaty with the USSR. "In the course of these I and my fellow conspirators pressed the USSR to buy from us products of the light industry which the USSR did not need. On the other hand, I also pressed for turning down the Soviet offer of a greater delivery of grain, although economic needs of Czechoslovakia required this. By various sabotage acts of this nature, we succeeded, as already stated, to in-

sert extensive acts of sabotage into the Czechoslovak plans." When these were exposed, the plans had to be revised. The loss caused, however, was enormous and amounted to several tens of billions.

Frejka was then asked about sabotage activities in the field of price and supply policy. In that sector, the accused admitted to carrying out sabotage mainly by decontrolling the price of bread and flour at too low a level in 1949. At that time, a fellow conspirator, Outrata, made a "conspiratory" proposal to decontrol the prices of flour and bread. This proposal had been supported by Frejka, although he knew that the bulk purchasing prices of animal husbandry produce were such that if the proposal were put into effect, large-scale feeding of bread and flour to animals would follow. This actually resulted.

Answering a question, Frejka further stated that the result of their activities had been a serious disproportion in the relation of available supplies and the rising purchasing power. The policy of price reduction had run aground about halfway through 1950.

A leading role in the conspiratory activities in the food sector had been played by Josef Frank, who had been appointed by Slansky as head of the Price and Supply Commission. It had been Slansky and Frank who had coordinated the subversive activities in supply matters. By various sabotage acts in this field, distrust had been caused among the workers toward the government and the Communist Party.

A further crime committed by Frejka was the introduction of the so-called SPH system which Frejka approved. Although he knew that it was a system practised by the Bata concern, harmful

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and capitalistic. This system was responsible for the slowing down of the advance of Socialism, and for huge losses.

Questioned about what he knew about the Titoist plans for the establishment of an anti-Soviet Federation, Frejka described a meeting in October 1947, in Milan Reiman's flat in Prague, at which, in addition to himself and Reiman, Loebel, Fabinger, and Goldmann were present as Czechoslovak representatives, and the Yugoslav commercial attache Ivo Barbalic — who later was expelled from Czechoslovakia — the Yugoslav foreign trade minister Petrovic, and some leading Yugoslav officials had attended.

Various obstacles to close trade relations between the two countries were discussed. However, agreement was not reached on a number of fundamental problems and it was decided to send a Czechoslovak delegation to Yugoslavia to discuss things with Kidric in person. At the meeting in Prague, the Titoist representatives sketched prospects of Czechoslovak-Yugoslav economic cooperation with a clear anti-Soviet bias.

Frejka, Reiman, and Fabinger went to Belgrade at the end of October 1947. The Titoists on this occasion voiced their "hostile attitude to Czechoslovakia in an even more provocative manner."

Asked whether he had informed Slansky of the Titoist hostility to Czechoslovakia and the USSR, Frejka replied that he had done so but it had been clear to him that Slansky was fully informed of the hostile plans of the Titoists. Slansky nevertheless had instructed him to continue the "excessive economic relations" with Tito's Yugoslavia.

In reply to a further question, Frejka confirmed that Slansky had repeated his instruc-

tions for "excessive economic relations" with Yugoslavia, even after the Cominform resolution on Yugoslavia. That was why a trade agreement was concluded with Yugoslavia for 1949 at roughly the same volume as that for 1948.

Frejka concluded his evidence by explaining that the conspirators had acted in this manner because their aims were the same as those of the Titoist.

"As I have explained here, we conspirators, led by Slansky, were trying, by means of sabotage, economic disruption and espionage, to create in the economic field the prerequisites for a definite reversal of conditions in Czechoslovakia, for Czechoslovakia's severance from the Camp of Peace and its transfer to the Camp of Imperialism and War."

(This concluded the examination of Frejka.)

— END OF THE THIRD DAY OF THE TRIAL —

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**NOVEMBER 23, 1952 — FOURTH DAY OF
THE TRIAL — MORNING SESSION**

The witnesses heard on Sunday morning confirmed Frejka's evidence. The first of them was Ivan Holy, former Deputy Minister for Industry.

To explain why Slansky had enrolled him in the conspiracy, Holy said: "I was a suitable person for Slansky. Slansky knew my bourgeois origin and knew about my collaboration with the German fascists during the occupation, when I acted as a Gestapo and Security Service Informer and supplied them with information from the beginning of the occupation until 1945."

Prosecutor: "How did you know that Slansky knew of your activity during the occupation?"

Holy: "This is proved by a conversation I had with Slansky at his office at Communist Party headquarters in the autumn of 1947. He received me at a table on which there was a bundle of paper, and he said right at the beginning that he had documentary evidence of my past during the occupation, in fact about my connections with the Nazis. He hinted, however, that he would not use this material against me. Thereby he put me under an even greater obligation to carry out my hostile work according to his instructions and under Frejka's guidance."

At the request of the court Slansky here confirmed the statement of the witness.

With Slansky's approval Holy became Works Manager of the Bata Works in 1945. In 1946 Slansky pushed through his appointment as a Communist MP. In 1948 Slansky arranged for Holy's appointment as General Secretary of the industrial sector for leather and rubber, later of the sector for textiles, and in 1948 Slansky arranged his appointment as Deputy Minister for

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Industry. As a result of these favors he had been under an obligation to Slansky and carried out all his instructions.

Holy then described these "hostile tasks" he had performed. Immediately after the liberation, in the summer of 1945, Slansky had instructed him to pursue a pro-capitalist cadre policy. He also confirmed the witness's cadre policy at the Bata Works after the liberation, when he had appointed to leading posts a number of men closely connected with the old management, such as Frantisek Simandl, Jose Kubin, and Dr. Karel Cvachovec. All these were later deposed and Simandl and Cvachovec became traitors and escaped to the capitalist countries. Slansky also approved the witness's decision to leave the old capitalist managers, such as Frantisek Halota and Dominik Cipera—the latter a minister of the defeatist Post-Munich Government—in their posts when the works were placed under National Administration.

On the occasion of his visits to the Bata Works in 1945 and 1946, Holy continued, Frejka demanded that the Bata organization be introduced in other nationalized enterprises. Frejka then expressed the view that the time was not ripe for the introduction of the Soviet cost accounting method in the Czechoslovak economy. This view had been repeatedly uttered by Frejka, particularly in 1948 when the so-called debureaucratization commission was to commence the adoption of the Bata organization in the economic ministries.

Asked by the Prosecution whether Frejka had been "the principal and guiding force" in this matter, Holy replied: "No. The principal and guiding figure in the introduction of the Bata system was Rudolf Slansky."

Holy then told the court how this policy had "supported Czechoslovak emigre traitors at the expense of the Czechoslovak people." In 1947, Dr. Jiri Kubelik, a former social democrat, and personal friend of the traitor Lausman, who was arrested for subversive activities in 1949 but was at that time still General Manager of Czechoslovak leather and rubber manufacturers, had signed an agreement in London with the big capitalist Thomas Bata concerning deliveries of footwear, footwear machinery, and the repair of the latter. This agreement has been detrimental to the Czechoslovak economy because it burdened it with the duty of repairing and modernizing the machine pool of Bata's concern in the west, and also enabled him to dominate the market with the help of regular deliveries of footwear from Czechoslovakia. In spite of the harmful character of this agreement, Evzen Loebel, then Departmental Head in the Foreign Trade Ministry, insisted on its observation.

The second witness was Bedrich Hajek, since 1949 Deputy Head of the Cadres section of the Secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee. He had been chosen by Slansky, according to the commentator who introduced the witness, "because Slansky knew his Zionist past and petty bourgeois origin and also knew that during the second world war Hajek had undergone complete schooling as a saboteur in England."

Hajek told the court that Slansky had "given him directives as to the kind of people he should rely on." Slansky had also "approved his proposals for the placing of enemy elements in important posts" and, moreover, had assured the witness that he was "acting quite correctly."

Asked for examples, Hajek named "the bourgeois Jewish Nationalist, Ludvik Kalina" whom

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he had recommended for the post of Deputy General Manager of Centrotex, and "The Cosmopolitan, Vojtech Schlesinger" for the post of General Manager of Metrans.

On one occasion, the witness stated, Slansky had remarked to him: "Surely there are enough people among our returned emigres from Britain?" Since Slansky knew the composition of the London emigres as well as Hajek, the witness had "regarded this as a clear hint to orient himself even more toward people who had returned from the west, that is, Zionist and similar elements."

The next witness to be questioned was Vojtech Jancik, alias Jung, in charge of the Cadre Department of the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

He said that after his return from England, Frejka had appointed him, in August 1945, to the economic department of the Central Committee where he was first put in charge of Slovak affairs. In 1947 when he supported the hostile plans of Slansky and Frejka, he was put in charge of Cadre Policy in the Economic Department. Both had known him for a long time and known that he had sympathized with the Zionist movement as a student, that he was of petite bourgeois descent, and that as a refugee in England he had "contact with Jewish bourgeois nationalists."

Cadre policy had been laid down by Slansky and Frejka. The various sections and subsections were filled by Slansky with "Jewish bourgeois nationalists, cosmopolitans, and bourgeois so-called experts like Evzen Loebel, Dr. Josef Goldmann, Zdenek Rudinger, Fabinger, Dr. Ivan Holy, Svatapluk Rada, Dr. Oldrich Cerny, and other people of this type." All these people "were definite enemies of building socialism."

Asked about cooperation between Frejka's Economic Department and Tito's Yugoslavia, Jancik replied: "There was a very close cooperation. In November 1945, for example, Frejka agreed with Slansky to send an economic delegation to Yugoslavia for the purpose of studying the situation there and gathering experience. I myself was a member of this delegation."

Prosecutor: "And what experience did you gather there?"

Jancik: "During our one week stay, particularly in discussions between the leader of the delegation, Frejka, and the then Minister of Industry in Yugoslavia, Kidric, we learned that the Yugoslav Communists in no way utilized the experience of building Socialism in the USSR, but went the so-called Yugoslav special way, which was basically different from the methods of building Socialism in the USSR."

Slansky's Conspiratorial Center neglected Soviet experience in the same way. On the contrary, under the pretext of the so-called special situation of Czechoslovakia, they had worked for the restoration of Capitalism and Imperialism.

The accused Josef Frank was questioned next. He pleaded "guilty to being a member of the anti-State center which was led by Rudolph Slansky in the interest of the U.S. imperialists. I also plead guilty that I worked, together with Slansky and the other accomplices, for the usurping of power by the anti-State center following the example of the Tito Fascist clique. I also plead guilty to sabotaging, on Slansky instructions and on my own initiative, the building of Socialism in Czechoslovakia, her economic basis and defense capacity, and of causing great material and political damage to the State.

"I further am guilty of having misused my office in the Communist Party for covering the

criminal activities of my accomplices in the Conspiratorial Center. And finally, I plead guilty to being a war criminal and of having committed a whole number of grave crimes for the benefit of U.S. Imperialists and to the detriment of the working people of Czechoslovakia, the Communist Party, and the whole Peace Camp."

In reply to the question as to who had actually led him into this position, Frank replied: "The root of my struggle against the people and against Socialism is my opportunism and my opportunistic development." He described his early years and admitted that in 1930 he had first betrayed the Revolutionary Movement when he was arrested for Communist activities. At that time he had betrayed certain facts which had helped the bourgeoisie in the fight against the working class.

Frank then explained at length how he became a war criminal. In 1942 he was appointed clerk and interpreter in the Buchenwald concentration camp, which function he "fulfilled with the utmost gusto for the benefit of the Nazis."

Asked about concrete war crimes he had committed, he said that he had helped the Nazis in drawing up lists of prisoners to be sent to places of work where the conditions were even worse than in the camp, with the result that many perished. He had beaten prisoners "and committed war crimes." He had received lists of prisoners to be sent from the Nazi camp authorities through the Chief Camp Policeman (Seifert). He had given the lists their final form. "I added to the lists names of prisoners whose number I was given by the prisoner Jung."

Presiding Judge: "We know who Seifert was. He was, like you, a war criminal. But who was this Jung?"

Frank: "I did not know."

Presiding Judge: "You then helped the Nazis not only in accord with their instructions, but you actually added people on instructions from someone whom you did not even know."

Frank agreed to that.

Frank then explained that he had succeeded in keeping secret these crimes from the party and the authorities and had posed on the contrary as a fighter against Fascism. He had known that the War Crimes Commission was looking for him. In 1945 Slansky had appointed him to the Secretariat of the Central Committee. Later, he testified "I informed Slansky of the fact that I was on the list of War Criminals. I showed him the actual place in the list and asked him whether it would not be better if I took another job in view of these facts. Slansky replied that this was unnecessary and that I could continue to work in the Secretariat." Following this hint he had continued to keep his past a secret. In this way he had become dependent on Slansky.

Presiding Judge: "Did Slansky make use of this dependence of yours?"

Frank: "He harnessed me to his activities. Thus I began to take an active part in the machinations of the anti-State center which Slansky organized in the interests of the U.S. imperialists."

In this he had only been gradually involved as a result of his dependence on Slansky, his opportunism, his secret war crimes, and his moral depravity. His dependence on Slansky had grown ever more and in June 1949 he had been elected Secretary of the Central Committee. Hence, he had fully supported Slansky and carried out his instructions, although he had been aware of their hostile aims.

The Prosecutor asked Frank about his part in placing and maintaining enemies of the State in important economic positions.

Frank said that he had taken over the work Frejka had done on the Economic Commission after Frejka's recall. The Economic Commission was later abolished. He, Frank, continued Frejka's policy in accordance with Slansky's instructions.

The Prosecutor then wanted to know the names of the Industrial Directors placed by Frank.

The first to be mentioned was the Director General of the heavy engineering industry, Fabinger, "an enemy of the Soviet Union." Frank said that in 1949 he told Slansky of the harmful activities of Fabinger, but Slansky dismissed him with the remark that Fabinger was an outstanding expert who should stay in his job. Later when, as a result of a decision of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party, Fabinger's activities were to be investigated, Taussigova, obviously on instructions from Slansky, protracted the investigation for nearly a year, whereby Fabinger was maintained in his position as Director General until 1951.

Frank said that Jicinsky, — Director General of the Trinec Foundries during the first Republic and a collaborator of the conspirators, had been made Director General of the Czechoslovak Foundries. When he reported to Slansky on Jicinsky, Slansky again told him that Jicinsky was an expert and suitable for the post. Frank was satisfied with that and left him on his job.

The Director General of the Chemical Industry was the "Cosmopolitan" engineer Eisler, who had relations in America. He, too, remained in his post although it was known that he had

sabotaged the construction of the penicillin factory. He was recalled from his post in 1950 on a decision by the presidium of the central committee. Frank had then been directed by Slansky to appoint Karny-Karpeles in Eisler's place. Karny-Karpeles had been Frejka's deputy on the economic commission. Despite his hostile activities in that capacity, Slansky had recommended him for the job.

The commentator reported that Frank enumerated many more traitors whom he himself had placed in highest positions. Frank had concentrated his chief sabotage activities against the development of the heavy industry.

The recording of Frank's evidence continued with his admissions on this count. Frank said that one of the ways of sabotaging heavy industrial development had been to ignore the productive capacity of various plants in drawing up production plans. Production targets were set lower than actual production in these factories. Plan targets concerning the opening up and production of new iron and nonferrous metal deposits were set too low.

Asked about Czechoslovakia's foreign trade with the USSR and the people's democracies, Frank said that they undermined this trade and that the country was made dependent on the West. This was evident from the fact that more than 50 percent of Czechoslovakia's foreign trade was scheduled to be transacted with the West.

The Presiding Judge wanted to know details about sabotage in that sector.

Frank said that "sabotage on the widest scale" in foreign trade manifested itself in vast deficit transactions to the detriment of the republic. Loeb covered up these transactions by running a separate "M" account which, in effect, served

to hamstring the initiative of foreign trade officials who were trying to obtain preferential prices in negotiations with the West, as well as to hush up deficit business from which Western capitalists and traitorous emigres benefited.

During 1950, according to Frank, the plan of exporting agricultural machinery to countries with a planned economy was fulfilled 46 percent and to capitalist countries 350 percent, with the capitalists paying some 55 kcs. per kilogram and the people's democracies 69 kcs.

At the same time the Centrotex National Enterprise exported textiles to Great Britain at prices far below the world market level. Besides, various commodities were bought by Czechoslovakia abroad, and re-exported at a loss. In Belgium, for instance, and in the Trizone, Czechoslovakia bought (sheetmetal for dynamos) at seven to eight kcs. per kilogram, which was then exported to Switzerland at six to seven kcs. per kilogram.

Such transactions were carried out by men collaborating with the conspirators in the foreign trade sector. They pocketed large sums. Frank admitted to the prosecutor that he had told Svermova in 1949 that these people were working for their own profit and robbing the working class.

Another way of cheating the workers was in the granting of compensation for nationalization of industries previously owned by Western capitalists. In 1948, for instance, Dr. Skala, from the Ministry of Finance, and Loebl, from the Foreign Trade Ministry, were sent to the United States to discuss compensation payments for U.S. property nationalized in Czechoslovakia. Dr. Skala betrayed the republic and joined the U.S. Imperialists.

Frank, after February 1948 had expressed himself in favor of granting compensation to Rothschild. He could not recall any details but remembered that Dr. Margolius discussed compensation payment for a nationalized Czechoslovak iron ore mine in Sweden with British capitalists. When Frejka and Margolius reported the transaction at an economic council meeting, Frank agreed to the export, free of charge, to Great Britain of quantities of Czechoslovak industrial products under a five-year trade agreement with the United Kingdom. That was to be compensation to British capitalists. In the course of five years several hundred million kcs. thus were to have been paid out.

Frank was then asked about the so-called "Taub" plan, concerning the purchase of a sheet metal mill. That was an American plan, Frank said, worked out in 1946 at the behest of Fabinger and Rudinger with the American engineer Taub, and aimed at the subjugation of the automobile industry. Fabinger and Rudinger, in their posts in heavy engineering and the metal industry in general, wanted to insure that the Czechoslovak heavy engineering industry remained dependent on the West in every respect.

One of the conspirators' methods of sabotage in the sphere of production, Frank continued, was the issuing of production directives seemingly designed to increase production but in fact obstructing it and undermining working morale. Fabinger and Rudinger had carried out sabotage on those lines, especially in heavy industry. They failed to insure the timely preparation of production plans and the timely allocation of production programs and thus brought about chaos.

In 1950, for example, the manufacture of agricultural machinery was to be transferred from

the Agrostroy Works at Prostějov to a newly-built establishment which had been built without regard for its purpose. Under Fabinger's directives, quite a number of plants had been set up without any one knowing what they were to be used for.

Another form of sabotage practiced by the conspirators was their failure to insure timely delivery of production equipment for the heavy engineering industry. One plant was idle from 1948 to 1951 because of the non-arrival of essential equipment.

Large-scale sabotage, continued Frank, was practiced in the rebuilding of the Molotov Foundries at Trinec. This reconstruction cost the country many thousands of millions, but far from increasing production capacity, as officially stated, it was so planned as to reduce production. The authors and organizers of this reconstruction scheme were engineers Steiner, Vodicka, and Bohus.

Their aim was to rebuild the works at the Republic's expense and in such a way as to render them suitable for return to their former owners in the event of restoration of capitalism. In the course of this rebuilding scheme, a number of installations had been torn down, though still in good working order, and replaced by new installations of equal or only slightly increased capacity. The fire clay shop, the steel shop, some blast furnaces, and so forth, had been torn down and a disproportion between the capacities of different production stages deliberately brought about.

The prosecutor interrupted at this point to submit to the court a letter showing that the accused's attention had been drawn to this sabotage at Trinec. Frank acknowledged the au-

thenticity of the letter and admitted that he had deliberately "covered up the sabotage at Trinec."

Questioned as to whether he had practiced any other forms of sabotage designed to preserve the capitalist structure of industry, Frank stated that a new accounting system known as SPH — Socialist Works Economy — had been promoted by the conspirators since 1948, although in fact this system was the old capitalist method of accounting. The SPH system had been greatly praised and recommended by Frejka at a meeting of the Economic Council late in 1948 and also by Slansky in person at a meeting of the Central Committee and at meetings of regional secretaries in 1949.

Asked if he had striven to preserve capitalists in other spheres of the country's economy as well, Frank stated that he and the other members of the conspiracy had done so in the countryside. They had "obstructed the socialization of the villages." In 1948, Frank explained, when a speedup in the socialization of the villages had been decided on, Slansky had urged that in view of the fundamental questions involved, the Agricultural Department of the Secretariat of the Communist Party Central Committee be put under his personal control. He then placed members of the conspiracy into key positions.

This policy of obstructing the Socialization of the countryside was put into effect by calling off the struggle against the village rich and by allowing them to join the Party and enter Agricultural cooperatives. Not only rich peasants, but landowners, and big landowners, were placed in important posts. Extensive sabotage had also been carried in the field of livestock production.

Frank recalled a conversation with Slansky in 1949, when Slansky declared in the presence of Svermova, Geminder, and others, that the Party

Line about a gradual and prudent procedure in the socialization of the country side meant in fact that the class struggle against the village rich should not be developed at all, and that problems should be solved peacefully. As early as 1947 Slansky sent directives to regional Secretaries recommending the enrollment into the Party of village rich whom he called "peasants of authority."

At a conference of Agricultural Officers of Party Regional Committees in 1949 Slansky had ruled that village rich be accepted into Agricultural cooperatives. Frank added: "I was present at the time and I did not oppose his suggestion. I voted for it."

Asked whether capitalist elements in the rural community had also been supported financially, Frank replied that, on Smrkovsky's instructions, state farms had paid out large sums to former owners of land as compensation under the land reform. Smrkovsky earmarked 600 million kcs. for this purpose in 1950 and about 150 million kcs. was actually paid out during the first half of that year. Some landowners received as much as 5.5 million kcs. and others had received monthly payments of 3,000 to 4,000 kcs. on instructions from Gondar, a colleague of Smrkovsky.

Other capitalist elements, not only in the countryside but in the towns, had been supported "through the benign handling of the release of frozen accounts belonging chiefly to business peoples, manufacturers, landed gentry, and so forth. Thus some 5 billion kcs. was paid into their pockets in 1950.

Slansky had further ordered that favorable consideration be given to big peasants in the matter of credits. The village rich were thus supported at the country's expense.

In reply to the Prosecutor's question on the placing of enemies in key position in Agriculture, Frank stated that Smrkovsky had surrounded himself with his own people. In 1947, for example, he had recommended the "careerist" Emil Lazik for the post of head of the cooperatives department in the Ministry of Agriculture — A man who "illegally escaped to the West" after February 1948 — and for the post of Director of State Tractor Stations he had recommended "the former tradesman" Vaclav Korunka, whose brother had been sentenced for active collaboration with the enemy.

Speaking about his confederates in the Directorate of Forests, Frank named the Director-General Hrnčíř, who had been arrested for subversive activities in 1950. "Many enemies held important positions in the Directorate of State Farms," he said. The Nazi collaborator Naprstek had been placed in an important post by Slansky himself. Slansky had also supported the advancement of (Zidovský), one of Sling's friends. "During Slansky's tenure of control over the Agricultural Sector, more than 430 unreliable persons were given posts in the State Farms." In 1949 he and Slansky had given Sling permission to employ the former estate owners, the Stepan Brothers.

The Prosecutor then presented letters addressed to Frank which contained information that, for example, in the Jihlava Region 64 former estate owners held leading positions on state farms; Plzeň Region, 84, and so forth.

The writer of these letters, Klapka, had addressed them to Frank because "from 1950 onward I was in control of the agricultural sector. These letters were written to me to enable me to improve this state of affairs. I did nothing

and thus covered up saboteurs of agricultural production.

"Smrkovsky carried out hostile activities by covering up for enemies. People who had been exposed as enemies were transferred by him to other posts. For example, the State Farm Manager in Tachov, who had been punished for black marketing, was given another post."

The Commentator interrupted to say that obviously the war criminal Frank and the Gestapo Agent Smrkovsky gladly cooperated with one another.

Frank continued: "In 1949 when the Party chairman directed the setting up of large fattening centers for pigs in emulation of the Soviet example, Smrkovsky and Slansky sabotaged the construction of these centers. Smrkovsky ordered the drawing up of plans for centers of 5,000 pigs, while the economic size would have been 2,000 to 3,000 pigs. The buildings were constructed in an unsuitable manner and suffered from excess appropriations of money and materials. At the end of 1949, I drew Slansky's attention to this but he agreed with Smrkovsky's sabotage."

In reply to the presiding judge, Frank admitted that the conspirators had tried to undermine the party by following "the methods of the traitor Tito. We tried to dilute the Party by introducing non-Marxist and non-Leninist elements, by depriving it of its revolutionary character, by weakening the fighting capability of the Party, and by robbing it of the character of the vanguard of the working class movement.

"On the economic side, we refused to apply Soviet experiences in the development of socialism and, similarly, in the building up of the Party we rejected the experiences of the all-union Bolshevik party. We based this notion on our

notorious interpretation of the particular character of Czechoslovak conditions. Thus, in 1949 Slansky prevented the application of more Soviet experiences in the Party organizational statute which was then being prepared and this was motivated by the particular conditions prevailing in Czechoslovakia.

"Slansky generally opposed the application of Soviet experiences and the dispatch of Party and economic officials to the USSR. He also opposed the invitation of Soviet experts to come to Czechoslovakia. Svermova helped him in this frequently and effectively. She also rejected Soviet experiences, particularly with regard to the building up of the Party and to the definition of the duties of membership. She also based this argument on the particular conditions in Czechoslovakia. All this made it possible for us to sap the Party's strength and to introduce hostile practices.

"We distorted the Party directives with respect to the recruiting of new members and thus enabled hostile and alien elements, time servers, former entrepreneurs, estate owners, Kulaks, Bourgeois Nationalists, Trotskyites, and so forth, to scheme.

"We suppressed and limited criticism and self-criticism, we evaded Party democracy, introduced dictatorial methods, made decisions without referring to elected authorities, distorted the Party line, postponed the solution of urgent problems, and smothered the activity of basic Party units.

Turning to the security sector, Frank stressed its importance for the conspirators "to enable them to immediately localize possible disclosures which might have threatened the conspiracy and to help them weaken the struggle against all enemies, Zionists, Titoists, Trotskyites, and so forth. To this end, Slansky con-

centrated all questions of security in his hands and no one was permitted to interfere in security matters. We placed Karel Svab, who cooperated closely with Slansky from 1945 onward, in this sector.

"Slansky succeeded in getting the International Brigade member turned General, the London Pavel, appointed as Deputy Minister of National Security, and Zavodsky appointed as Commander of National Security. Of course, these associates of ours were exposed and arrested. In spite of the efforts made by Slansky and the rest of us, we did not succeed in attaining our shameful aims although we used a great variety of means in our struggle against the Republic and the Party, such as sabotage, espionage, subversive activity, and so forth.

"The Communist Party and the Czechoslovak people led by Klement Gottwald went on to further great successes in the building up of Socialism and in the end we were exposed and rendered harmless." This concluded the examination of Frank.

Next followed the testimony of the witness Marie Svermova, widow of Jan Sverma, a Communist Party leader who died during the Slovak rising. She was Chief Organizational Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and a member of the Central Secretariat. She was arrested in February 1951 as an accomplice of Sling.

Svermova: "First of all I want to admit that I cooperated with Slansky and his associates and helped them in their hostile activities. I feel guilty before the Party, before the state and the Czechoslovak people, and I want to make a full confession."

Presiding Judge: "Please tell us something about the activities of this subversive group led by Slansky. You have just told us that, like

Slansky, you engaged in activities dangerous to the security of Czechoslovakia."

Svermova: "Yes, I helped Slansky in carrying out his hostile policy, above all by placing hostile cadres in the Party machinery. This enabled the conspirators to gradually dominate key positions in the state. With my aid, Slansky appointed elements alien and hostile to the Party as regional secretaries in the most important industrial regions' elements. These included Sling in Brno, the International Brigade member Pavel and Sling's creature Hanus Lomsky in Plzen, Fuchs in Moravska-Ostrava, and Landa in Usti on Elbe.

"Slansky also appointed hostile elements like Geminder, Frank, Taussigova, Frejka, and others to posts in the Central Party offices. We undermined the Party not only by the placing of hostile cadres but also by diluting it through the recruitment of bourgeois and petty bourgeois members, particularly in the mass recruitment drive of 1947-1948 which was directed by Slansky himself."

Presiding Judge: "What was the idea behind your activities?"

Svermova: "We had counter revolutionary notions which were based on falsifications of Marxist-Leninist teachings. We tried to remove the period of building up Socialism. We had ideas about a particular Czechoslovak road to Socialism, dispensing with the dictatorship of the proletariat and adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the bourgeoisie. Our ideas were similar to the criminal notions held by Tito and his clique, and we aimed at tearing Czechoslovakia away from the USSR and the People's Democracies."

Presiding Judge: "What were the aims of the anti-State conspiracy?"

Svermova: "The liquidation of the People's Democratic order in Czechoslovakia."

Presiding Judge: "Is there anything else you want to say about your relations with the conspirators?"

Svermova: "I must say that I had close relations with Sling. I played a leading part in his appointment in 1945 and in his later activities. Slansky helped me. He himself supported Sling. In this way Sling assumed an important post and was able to carry out his hostile activities on a large scale. Slansky, who knew Sling well, protected him in 1949 when Sling was accused of grave misdemeanor and so made his timely exposure impossible.

"We all covered Sling, made his activities possible, and together with the other members of the anti-State center, he aimed at liquidating the People's Democratic order in Czechoslovakia.

"The conspirators avoided exposure for so long because they followed a policy of misleading the party chairman, Gottwald. Very cleverly and in a tricky way Slansky managed to create an atmosphere which prevented Party and state officials from approaching Gottwald, and thus prevented Gottwald from obtaining information. He held all important offices in order to mislead the Party Chairman and to cover up the anti-state centers." (This ended the testimony of this witness.)

NOVEMBER 23, 1952 — EVENING SESSION

At its evening session on Sunday, the Court examined Evzen Loebl, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.

Loebl: "I am guilty." Asked by the Prosecutor of what his guilt consisted, he said: "I am guilty principally in that, as a member of the subversive espionage conspiracy built up and

headed by Slansky, I carried out extensive hostile, subversive, and harmful work in the Czechoslovak economy.

"I had first become a member of the conspiracy on returning to Czechoslovakia from exile in Britain in 1945, as an ally of the treasonable Benes clique with which I was connected through the imperialist agent Hubert Ripka. Right up to my imprisonment I had maintained espionage connections with representatives of Western intelligence services and passed to them information covering the whole field of Czechoslovakia's economic life and foreign trade."

Questioned by the Prosecutor as to the agents and intelligence services he had been in touch with, Loebl named "the American spy Hermann Field, whom I first contacted in Cracow in 1949, the old officer of the British intelligence service, Konni Zilliacus," with whom he had been in contact in 1946 and 1947, and "the spy Godfrey Lias," with whom he had maintained connections from 1945 to 1949.

Elaborating his offenses, Loebl explained that in collaboration with Slansky, and in particular with Frejka and Margolius, he had pursued the object of "tying the Czechoslovak economy to the capitalist West and making it dependent on the West." This was to be done mainly by exporting manufactured products of light industry to the capitalist countries and importing from them the raw materials necessary for the manufacture of these articles. In this way Czechoslovak industry was to have been made dependent on Western raw materials and the excessive development of the light industries entailed by this plan was to obstruct the promotion of the country's heavy industry.

One aspect of this scheme was the Ueberall scheme. The idea of this was to increase the

production and exportation of manufactures of the light industry to the West "in such a way that the profits of the work of Czechoslovak industry should accrue to Israel."

A "similar fraudulent scheme" was the so-called "dollar offensive," the purpose of which was to retard the building of Socialism in Czechoslovakia. This plan had been agreed on by Loebel and "the U.S. agent and Israeli Minister Ueberall." It was to have been put into effect with the help of U.S. capitalist Zionists. Loebel continued:

"Just as in the course of negotiations with the capitalist countries I tried to tie Czechoslovakia's economy to the capitalist West and to damage Czechoslovak economy, I also acted at negotiations with the People's Democratic countries in such a way as to damage them and cause them to lose interest in concluding trade agreements with Czechoslovakia. I tried systematically to tear the Czechoslovak Republic away from its natural economic ties with the countries of the peace camp."

Loebel next spoke in detail about his espionage contacts. "I emigrated to England via Poland before the fascist occupation. Before leaving for England, while I was in Cracow, I made the acquaintance of the American spy Hermann Field, who was at the time head of the trust fund set up by the British committee. I had daily contacts with Field and helped him with his work in the British committee. It was then that I began to understand that the Anglo-American espionage services were exploiting the trust fund as an organization for the selection and enrollment of spies from among our refugees.

"That the trust fund served the British intelligence service was proved by the fact that it was

financed by the British Home Office. In return for my help with his work in the British committee, Field enabled me to get to Britain as early as August 1939 and to enter the services of the trust fund.

"From my collaboration with Field in the British committee in Cracow and from my own work in the trust fund in England I learned what methods the Western espionage services used. Under the pretext of charitable activities they had founded an organization for the winning over and enlistment of agents and spies who were subsequently employed in the People's Democracies to disrupt them from within and to bring them back under the thumb of the Western imperialists."

Asked to describe his treasonable activities in Britain, Loebel continued: "I adopted Benes' argument about the resurrection of the pre-Munich capitalist Czechoslovakia, a country which would have the closest ties to the capitalist West and would have propagated this pro-Western bourgeois nationalist concept in lectures at different trust fund hostels.

"I was employed by the trust fund until 1941, when I became secretary of the Friendship Club. Naturally, my work as secretary of the Friendship Club was also marked by this hostile concept. Although the London executive of the Party drew my attention to the fact that I should make the club into a center of mutual understanding, a place where all political parties could work together in the struggle against fascism, I betrayed the Communist Party and the idea of making the club into a center of mutual cooperation.

"I directed the club into the services of Benes, Ripka, and their reactionary clique. Through this treason I gained the confidence of the re-

actionary Benes clique and in the autumn of 1943 I was appointed a member of the Government delegation to the UNRRA conference in America. At this conference I committed a further act of treason.

"Frejka told me he had just seen Slansky who had entrusted him with the control of the economic department of the Party and with the office of chairman of the economic department. He was very pleased, since this new post would make it easier for him to implement our London agreement about placing members of the Economic Commission into key positions with a view to realizing our concept of tying Czechoslovakia's economy to the capitalist West.

"We set ourselves two tasks from the outset. On the one hand we would place enemy cadres in key positions, and on the other hand we would cover up for their enemy activities. Frejka and I decided that we would staff the economic department with 'Londoners'—people trained in the British economic school—such as Goldmann and Zionists like Sevcik, Jancik, Kolar, and others. We did not confine ourselves to people who came back from the West. We also used people whose anti-Communist political past was a guarantee to us that they would work along our lines like the Zionist Bock, the bourgeois nationalist Karny and others.

"Frejka took this proposal to Slansky. When I met Frejka after his conversation with Slansky, he told me that Slansky had approved this proposal. This fact made me suspect that Slansky entertained a hostile attitude to the Party. To confirm this suspicion, I agreed with Frejka that we would set up a special consultative body in this economic department, to be named, according to the London model, the Economic Com-

mission. We also agreed that we would take into this Economic Commission only enemies of the Party, cosmopolitan, Zionists, bourgeois nationalists, and people nurtured on capitalism.

"When Frejka told me that Slansky had approved even this patently hostile proposal, it was quite clear to me that Slansky was an enemy of the Party like myself. It was clear to me that Slansky was surrendering all economic positions in the Party to capitalist elements and that he was doing so deliberately and systematically.

"When I knew that Slansky himself was an enemy of the Party like myself, and when he had entrusted to me a highly important post in the Czechoslovak economy, I decided that I would act in accordance with Slansky's orders. Thus, I became, to all intents and purposes, a member of his anti-State conspiracy."

Prosecutor: "But you also had obligations toward Ripka. What did this mean?"

Loebl: "This was very favorable because I could now—in my new post as a member of the Economic Commission and with the direct support of Slansky—carry out even more easily the promise I had made Ripka in London that I would fight against the People's Democratic order."

Asked about details of his work along Ripka's directives, Loebl said: "I upheld Ripka's thesis in the Economic Commission, the thesis of the vital necessity for Czechoslovakia's foreign trade to proceed along the classical lines of exporting the manufactures of our light industry, which meant increasing the output of the light industry at the expense of the heavy industry. This enemy line of Ripka, which I carried into the Economic Commission by Frejka."

The Prosecutor then turned his questions to Loebl's espionage work. Loebl stated:

"In the UNRRA mission in Prague there worked, among other people, the Anglo-Americans Corbi and Bergiton. I maintained very close relations with them. We met not only in my office but also in cafes and private homes."

Prosecutor: "What concrete espionage information did you give those spies?"

Loebl: "I explained the bottlenecks of the Czechoslovak economy to Corbin and Bergiton. I informed them of the transfer of some industrial establishments from Bohemia to Slovakia, and I betrayed Czechoslovakia's foreign exchange situation to them, especially with regard to dollars, Swiss francs, and sterling. Moreover, I arranged permission for Corbin, Bergiton, and other Anglo-American UNRRA officials to visit establishments of Czechoslovakia's heavy industry so that they could carry out economic espionage on the spot."

Prosecutor: "Were these spies, Bergiton and Corbin, the only ones with whom you were in touch?"

Loebl: "No, I had espionage connections with a number of others."

Prosecutor: "Such as . . .?"

Loebl: "Such as the American spy Field."

Prosecutor: "Who else?"

Loebl: "The officer of the British intelligence service Konni Zilliacus."

Prosecutor: "Who else?"

Loebl: "The TIMES correspondent, the Englishman Godfrey Lias."

Prosecutor: "Who else?"

Loebl: "The American Prof. Neal and others."

Asked when and how his contacts with Lias started, Loebl replied:

"My espionage connection with Godfrey Lias, with whom I collaborated closely, began in the autumn of 1945. It happened at Hubert Ripka's request. Ripka told me in his office that in view of our London agreement about subversive collaboration, it was necessary for me to maintain contacts with a number of Western correspondents and give them information on Czechoslovak economic and foreign trade matters so that the Anglo-American businessmen could get an accurate picture of Czechoslovakia's economic position.

"Ripka actually named the TIMES correspondent, Godfrey Lias, whom he said he knew from London. He said he attached much importance to my maintaining contact with him. A few days later, I made Lias' acquaintance at Majer's flat and through him I was linked to the espionage centers. At our very first talk Lias told me that he was most interested in Czechoslovakia's economic problems and particularly in her foreign trade. He also told me quite openly that not all the information he received was meant for publication. From this it was quite clear to me that Lias passed these reports on to the British espionage service.

"We agreed that I would supply him regularly with espionage reports which he could either come and collect from my office or send someone to collect. We agreed that he would come to see me at my office a few days later. I reported to Ripka about my arrangement with Lias and he was most satisfied and approved of what I had done. He also told me that he had already heard about it from Lias direct."

Prosecutor: "What kind of espionage reports did you give Lias?"

Loebl: "In the course of my collaboration with the British spy Lias, I informed him on

all confidential and secret matters concerning Czechoslovak economy and foreign trade."

Prosecutor: "How many reports, roughly, did you give him?"

Loebl: "I gave him about eight or twelve espionage reports in writing, but considering that I have given him very, very much information, I cannot remember what I gave him orally and what in writing."

Prosecutor: "Was there any secret at all that was known to you and that you did not betray to Lias?"

Loebl: "I betrayed to Lias all secret information that interested him or that had great significance for the British Government's discrimination campaign against the Czechoslovak Republic."

Prosecutor: "What further services did you render Lias?"

Loebl: "At Lias' request I saw to it that the Alcron firm, in which Lias was financially interested, was exempted from nationalization. This was against the law and damaged Czechoslovakia. I also arranged a number of import permits for him for jewelry, furs, and other things from Switzerland and Britain."

Prosecutor: "When did you break off espionage contacts with Lias?"

Loebl: "I did not break off espionage connections with Lias voluntarily. Our relations came to an end when his 'espionage activities were unmasked in 1949 and he had to leave the territory of Czechoslovakia.'"

The prosecutor then asked Loebl to speak about his espionage connections with Hermann Field.

Loebl: "My espionage connections with Hermann Field began in 1939 in Cracow, where he was engaged in selecting and recruiting agents

and spies from among our emigres. In the summer of 1947 he sent me a card from America to tell me that he intended visiting Czechoslovakia as the leader of a delegation of architects and asked me to help him. I replied to him and told him I was willing to help him. Thus, the American spy Field came to Czechoslovakia. With my help, he resumed his old espionage contacts and carried out his spying.

I informed him about all our postwar reconstruction problems so that he learned everything from me that he needed to form a full picture of conditions in Czechoslovakia. I told him everything I knew in my position as departmental head in the Foreign Trade Ministry."

Loebl then described his work for the "British spy Zilliacus." Loebl then spoke of his contacts with Smolett: "In 1946 Andre Simone, editor of RUDE PRAVO and a member of our conspiracy, introduced me to the TIMES correspondent Smolett. I maintained very close connections with him and gave him information about Czechoslovak foreign trade and economic matters—information which was very valuable to the British espionage service."

Prosecutor: "Did you perform any other services for Smolett?"

Loebl: "At Smolett's request I arranged for him to be appointed Austrian representative of the nationalized Kohinoor firm. I arranged this business deal to enable Smolett to pursue his espionage and subversive activity in Czechoslovakia more effectively under the cloak of lawful business. I also gave him detailed information about the Kohinoor firm without the Government's approval."

Asked about further espionage contacts, Loebl said: "In the course of my work at the Foreign Trade Ministry, I was visited by very many

representatives of Anglo-American circles. I informed them about all questions concerning Czechoslovakia's economy and foreign trade."

Prosecutor: "Did Clementis recommend such a spy to you?"

Loebl: "In the summer of 1949, the American Prof. Neal was recommended to me by Clementis' office. Prof. Neal was interested in economic problems, especially in the planning of foreign trade, and I gave him information at three meetings."

At this point the prosecution submitted a letter from Neal expressing appreciation for Loebl's assistance as well as a photograph of Prof. Fred Neal. Loebl identified Neal.

Loebl was then questioned about his sabotage in the field of foreign trade. In this sphere, too, he admitted, he had "carried out a whole string of sabotage acts." One of them had been the Ueberall scheme. Ueberall had come to Prague even before he was appointed Israeli Minister, as "an American agent and representative of Zionist organizations." Loebl worked with him and with other members of the conspiracy "in favor of that American outpost in the Middle East—the State of Israel."

Asked about the details of his work with Ueberall, Loebl said: "On one occasion Ueberall came to me with a concrete proposal. He said it was possible to get dollar credits from American Zionists on the condition that Zionist emigres would be allowed to transfer their property."

Prosecutor: "How did you react to this?"

Loebl: "I reacted favorably because this proposal was in line with Slansky's instructions to use Zionist organizations for tying the country to the United States. That is why I agreed on the scheme Ueberall proposed."

Asked to explain the "sabotage character" of the proposal, Loebl said the dollar credits were to have made Czechoslovakia economically dependent on America. Since the credits were meant for the purchase of investments, the scheme would have also made Czechoslovak industry technologically dependent on America. Finally, since the credit would have been repaid by exports of products of the light industry, it would have obstructed the development of Czechoslovakia's heavy industry.

Prosecutor: "What further considerations were you guided by?"

Loebl: "Considerations for the Zionist emigres and the transfer of their property, since this affected many of my friends and relations."

Another campaign of the same character was the so-called "dollar offensive," which was in fact a continuation of the Ueberall plan. It had been decided to use the dollars for the purchase of investment goods, thus increasing Czechoslovakia's dependence on American monopolies. Loebl admitted that he had given instructions for such imports without regard whether they would damage Czechoslovakia exporters to sell to the West even at a loss.

As a consequence Czechoslovak manufactured goods were frequently exported at prices below cost. Loebl cooperated in these activities with the "American spy, the Zionist Alexander Taub." He had agreed with Taub on a propaganda campaign of lectures to be given in American synagogues and Zionist societies.

At the beginning of 1949, Loebl said, Ueberall and members of the Israeli trade delegation visited him. They had discussed at this meeting how to "misuse the prepared trade agreement with Israel for the support of Zionist emigration

and property transfers on the part of the Jewish bourgeoisie and the Zionist emigrants."

Loebl then described another of his "sabotage acts" which consisted of his support of the plan for the export to Israel of machinery for the production of pencils. A joint stock company was to be formed and payment for the machinery was not to be made in foreign exchange, but in shares in the company. This plan was intended to damage Czechoslovakia in two ways: first, by tying her to a company in the capitalist world, and second, by depriving her of urgently needed machinery.

At this point, the Prosecutor submitted an expert's report on the plan to set up a pencil factory in Israel. The report stated that eight Czechoslovak subjects who intended to emigrate to Israel and one Israeli, were trained in the Kohinoor works in Ceske Budejovice in the manufacture of pencils. However, the vigilance of the workers prevented the execution of this plan. Despite Loebl's endeavors, the machinery was not sent to Israel.

Loebl then admitted that after the nationalization of smaller industrial enterprises following the February events of 1948, he permitted the export of factory equipment to Israel although it would have been his duty to examine every case of the export of machinery from the point of view of whether this machinery was needed in Czechoslovakia.

In order to support Czechoslovak dependence on the capitalist West, he was instrumental in the purchase of machinery for the production of artificial fibers from an American company. He forced the national bank to make payments in dollars before the machinery was delivered. Later the American Government prohibited the export of this machinery and the dollar pay-

ments became a frozen asset. Loebl had also negotiated loans from Western countries at exorbitant rates of interest.

Loebl described a special system of accounts called the "M accounts" which was designed to conceal the disadvantages of Czechoslovak trade with the West. He had instructed exporters to fix prices for the West below production cost, while the USSR and the People's Democracies were charged much higher prices. The losses in trade with the capitalist countries were then offset by the exorbitant prices charged to the USSR and other friendly states.

During trade negotiations with the Soviet Union in Moscow in 1947 Loebl forced the USSR to accept second-rate goods from Czechoslovakia while high-quality products were reserved for capitalist countries. Prices charged to the USSR, particularly with respect to electric motors, generators, oil pipes, and similar goods, were much above the world market level and in some cases by as much as 30 percent higher than prices charged to the capitalist countries.

At this point, the Prosecutor introduced an experts' report according to which certain machinery was offered to the USSR for 550,750 kcs. This price was later reduced to 400,000 kcs. On Loebl's instructions, the same machinery had been sold to Sweden for 362,635 kcs.

Loebl then proceeded to describe sabotage which he committed in connection with oil purchases in Hungary in 1946. Part of the purchase price, amounting to five million crowns, was not paid to Hungary but remitted to Switzerland where it fell into the hands of the "treacherous Hungarian emigres."

Asked by the Prosecutor in what other ways Loebl has assisted enemies of the Republic in their fight against the Czechoslovak people, the

defendant admitted that he had built up a net of Czechoslovak trade representatives abroad, consisting of enemies of the People's Democratic regime who had fled abroad after February 1948. These people used the high commissions earned from Czechoslovak trade for the fight against Czechoslovakia. They were inveterate capitalists, Zionists, and bourgeois nationalists who were not interested in Czechoslovakia's progress. His intention had been to assist these enemies of the Republic and to have, should the People's Democratic regime be overthrown, a net of capitalist representatives abroad.

Loebl then named the following representatives appointed abroad: In New York, the representative of the glass industry was the former industrialist Dub; the latter's deputies were the bourgeois nationalists Rezek and Hasek; in London, the Jewish bourgeois nationalist Fuchs was the representative for the export of glass; in Switzerland, the representative of the Exico company was the inveterate Trotskyist Cush; in Trieste the sole representative for Czechoslovak coal was the mine-owner Guttmann; the export of artificial flowers was in the hands of the Zionsit emigre Alfred Silas.

The Prosecutor again submitted an expert's report on the arrangements made by Loebl with the "emigre Guttmann, the former Olner of the Ostrava coal mines." Guttmann was paid a commission of three to four percent, although according to international usage such a commission was only one to one and one-half percent. Moreover, Guttmann was paid a yearly salary of 250,000 kcs. Loebl affirmed he had made these arrangements.

The Prosecutor then quoted the case of one Nacht who had later Americanized his name to Nash. With the help of Loebl, he had earned

commissions of 49 million crowns on the export of rolling stock. Loebl admitted that he had authorized this commission and went on to describe an agreement which he had concluded with one Hansard who represented Czechoslovak export trade on the Gold Coast where "the Unilever concern owns big enterprises."

He had arranged with Hansard that Unilever would pay only 80 percent for Czechoslovak goods and the remaining 20 percent was to be kept as compensation for nationalized Unilever property in Czechoslovakia. This concerned the Schicht works in Usti. Loebl admitted that Unilever was not entitled to compensation for these factories, since they had been confiscated because the Schicht had been Nazis.

Loebl also stated that he gave Hansard "espionage reports on the strategy of Czechoslovak foreign trade." He had also assisted Hansard by agreeing to a certain surcharge on the import to Czechoslovakia of raw material for the margarine industry. This surcharge was also paid into the account for compensation.

In reply to a question by the Prosecutor, Loebl admitted that he had made possible the continued existence of capitalist firms in Czechoslovakia even after the nationalization of foreign trade. He gave instructions in the Foreign Trade Ministry to the effect that agents of Italian firms were not to be nationalized and he advised many importers and exporters to register as representatives or agents to evade nationalization. This made possible the continued existence of several hundreds of capitalist firms in Czechoslovakia "which cause great damage to the Czechoslovak economy."

Asked by the Prosecutor to describe his relations with Tito's Yugoslavia, Loebl said that long before the publication of the Cominform resolu-

tion, the Conspiratorial Center had been aware of the fact that the Titoists were leading Yugoslavia into the camp of the American imperialists. He had convinced himself of this during his negotiations with Kidric in 1946 and in autumn 1947 when he spoke with the Yugoslav commercial attache Barbalic in Milan Reiman's flat.

In the presence of the defendant and of Frejka, Fabinger, and Reiman, Barbalic said that Czechoslovakia must help Yugoslavia even if it harmed Czechoslovakia.

The Conspiratorial Center supported Yugoslavia's anti-Soviet policy by increasing exports of capital goods. When Slansky and Clementis learned about three arrangements with Yugoslavia, they expressed their complete satisfaction. Even after the Cominform resolution, at Slansky's instruction transmitted to him by Frejka, Loebl had assisted Titoist Yugoslavia by continuing exports of capital goods although Yugoslavia was not fulfilling her obligations under the trade agreement.

Slansky's group of conspirators had evolved a theory of "Czechoslovakia's special road toward Socialism" similar to that of Yugoslavia which in reality was the road leading toward the re-establishment of capitalism. The role of Tito in Czechoslovakia was to be played by Rudolf Slansky. (This concluded the examination of Loebl.)

At this point the Presiding Judge asked whether any of the other defendants had any questions to ask. A voice was heard to say: "A statement."

Presiding judge: "Please come forward. Defendant Loebl, make room at the microphone."

The following statement was then made by an unnamed defendant (The voice heard was clearly the same as that ascribed to Slansky earlier in

the trial.): "I fully agree with the evidence given by my associate, Loebl, and I declare that I am fully responsible for all his crimes."

Evidence was given by Dagmar Kacerovska, a former clerk of the American Embassy in Prague, who was sentenced some time ago by the Prague State Court for the crime of espionage. Kacerovska, whose evidence was not broadcast, confirmed, according to Radio Prague Loebl's cooperation with Godfrey Lias, to whom he had regularly given espionage reports. Lias had sent these to the intelligence service in London through the British Embassy's diplomatic bag.

The next witness was Josef Hofman, an official of the Foreign Trade Ministry, who described "the methods used by Loebl against those who pointed out his rackets. Honest people were intimidated, fired, or transferred to posts where they could not observe Loebl's dirty tricks."

—END OF THE FOURTH DAY OF THE TRIAL—

**NOVEMBER 24, 1952 — FIFTH DAY OF THE
TRIAL — MORNING SESSION**

The November 24 morning proceedings opened with the examination of defendant Rudolf Margolius, former Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade.

Margolius: "I was recruited for my subversive work by Evzen Loebl in October 1948 when I became a member of the anti-State group. On the instructions of this group I had conducted in the Foreign Trade Ministry extensive espionage and sabotage activities aiming at the disintegration of the Czechoslovak economy. I had deliberately negotiated unfavorable trade agreements and had enforced payments to foreign capitalists as compensation for nationalized property."

He also arranged for the payment of debts contracted by the pre-Munich Republic. His own and the Conspiratorial Center's final aim was the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia.

He also pleaded guilty to having maintained espionage contacts with representatives of imperialist states right up to the time of his arrest. These were Vera Nicheles-Dean, representative of the American Foreign Policy Association; the agent of the British imperialist Konni Zilliacus; the Jewish international businessman and Czechoslovak emigre Zionist Brenner; and the representative of Swedish capitalists and former Minister to Czechoslovakia, Otto Wilhelm Winther.

With the help of these agents he had supplied important and detailed information on Czechoslovak economy to the American and British espionage services, particularly with respect to Czechoslovak foreign trade. He had done all this knowingly and deliberately, thus enabling

the Western imperialists to cause damage to the Czechoslovak economy.

In the interest of Western imperialism, he also deliberately held up the development of economic relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies in order to separate Czechoslovakia from the Socialist camp and to subordinate her to the influences of the Western imperialists.

"Finally, I plead guilty that I placed hostile Zionist elements as Czechoslovak trade representatives abroad."

By means of exorbitant commissions and other tricks, he had enabled the "treacherous emigres in the capitalist West" to acquire funds for their hostile activities against Czechoslovakia. He had granted various advantages to these emigres and he had also helped many enemies of the Czechoslovak popular democratic regime to emigrate to capitalist countries.

Margolius described a meeting in Frejka's office in 1948 at which Goldmann had also been present. Frejka told him that according to Slansky's instructions, no changes were to take place in Czechoslovak foreign trade and that it was to be administered in the same way as was done before by Ripka. From this he realized that it was Frejka's intention to conduct a policy which was to increase Czechoslovakia's dependence on the capitalist West.

Shortly after this meeting, he was told by Loebl that he would be appointed chief of the Cabinet of the Foreign Trade Minister. This appointment was made because Loebl knew that he, Margolius, fully supported the Western trade policy. From then onward, Frejka and Loebl openly gave him directives on how to conduct the anti-Czechoslovak policy. They told him that it was necessary "to sabotage the decisions of

the Council of Mutual Economic Aid," that the People's Democracies must be treated harshly. Both Loebl and Frejka said that these decisions had been made directly by Slansky.

Margolius became aware of Slansky's sabotage intentions by the fact that leading positions in the country's economic machinery were given to hostile elements, particularly Jewish bourgeois nationalists and Zionists.

The Prosecutor then asked Margolius to describe his espionage activities.

Margolius stated that at the beginning of 1949 he had been instructed by Loebl to receive Vera Micheles Dean, director of the so-called American Foreign Policy Association, and to give her information about Czechoslovakia's national economy and foreign trade. He had in fact received Mrs. Dean at his office in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and passed on espionage information to her.

In particular, he gave her important data on the Czechoslovak-Soviet trade agreement and figures illustrating Czechoslovakia's trade with the democratic camp. Subsequent to that conversation he sent a letter to Mrs. Dean at the Alcron Hotel containing further secret information. The letter dated March 30, 1949, was produced in court.

The Prosecutor then asked for the details of Margolius' relations with the British Intelligence.

The accused said that at the end of 1948 or at the beginning of 1949 he had received a letter from Kavan, secretary of the Czechoslovak Embassy in London, requesting him to give information about Czechoslovak foreign trade to Zilliacus. A list of concrete inquiries made by Zilliacus was attached to that letter.

The accused then mentioned another espionage link, that is, with the Zionist Leo Brenner whom he had met in 1948 through Loebel. The defendant had given information to Brenner, chiefly concerning bottlenecks in Czechoslovak industry. He had maintained relations with him not only in Czechoslovakia but also abroad. The most "intensive phase" of this espionage contact was in the summer of 1949, during the Czechoslovak-British economic talks.

Before Margolius left for London he received instructions from Loebel to visit Brenner in London and to tell him that the real aim being pursued in the Czechoslovak-British talks was the interests of the British capitalists. These were to be provided with fresh profits, to receive compensation for nationalized property in Czechoslovakia, and so forth.

After his arrival in London, Margolius had contacted Brenner and also arranged for the Rothschilds to be informed that under the proposed agreement they might receive compensation for the nationalized Vitkovice foundries. In addition Margolius gave a variety of export opportunities for Czechoslovak goods to the West, details about trade with the Soviet Union and China to Brenner.

The defendant agreed that he had thus betrayed State secrets which he possessed by virtue of his high position in the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

Replying to the Presiding Judge's question as to his relations with Brenner after the London talks, Margolius said that the espionage contact lasted practically from May 1948 until 1951. He also admitted that he had realized how important the cooperation with Brenner had been both to Brenner and the British imperialists, a

fact which had been repeatedly acknowledged by Brenner.

Margolius was then asked about his subversive activities in favor of the Swedish capitalists.

On that subject he said that he carried out his task through the medium of the former Swedish Minister to Czechoslovakia, Otto Wilhelm Winther (Minister from August 1947 to December 1950), whom he knew to be in touch with Slansky, Geminder, and Loebel. Loebel introduced him to Winther in 1948.

Between 1949 and 1951 Margolius gave various espionage information to Winther concerning Czechoslovak foreign trade, especially matters relevant to the progress of preparations for trade talks with Sweden. "I drew his attention to points where Czechoslovakia was vulnerable to Sweden."

Winther had shown particular interest in Czechoslovak negotiations with the Rothschilds in the matter of the Freja mine, which had been the property of the Vitkovice foundries, owned by the Rothschilds before the war. Margolius did not want the mine to be transferred to the ownership of People's Democratic Czechoslovakia and therefore revealed the state of negotiations to Winther. As a result of this, Czechoslovakia was compelled to sell the Freja mine at very unfavorable terms.

The Swedes had also made use of other information which Margolius had passed on to Winther. Without specifying further names, Margolius mentioned that he met many representatives of capitalist firms to whom he conveyed important information about foreign trade with a view to enriching the capitalists and damaging Czechoslovakia.

The Prosecutor asked Margolius for details about the so-called "Ueberall campaign."

Margolius said that the campaign was initiated by the former Israeli minister to Czechoslovakia Avriel at the beginning of 1948.

Avriel had appeared in Czechoslovakia in 1947 under the name of Ueberall and had organized and directed Zionist organizations in Czechoslovakia.

Margolius admitted to having been in constant touch with Ueberall, and they had both openly confided to each other their hostility to People's Democracy. The purpose of the Ueberall campaign had been the "complete tying of the Czechoslovak economy to the imperialist camp, especially the United States."

One of its specific aims had been to hamper the switchover to heavy industrial production in Czechoslovakia. It was for that purpose that Loebl tried to secure credits from Jewish capitalists in the United States in order to create financial and economic dependence on the United States. The industry was to become dependent on raw material and important equipment imports. It was planned to repay with light industry exports to the United States. If that had been achieved, the switchover to heavy industry would have been sabotaged.

The profit was to go to Jewish capitalists in the United States, and especially to Czechoslovak emigres who were to become the key exporters, importers, and middlemen in trade with Czechoslovakia. It was intended to help them to amass wealth while at the same time damaging the Czechoslovak economy.

The Prosecutor submitted a photograph which the defendant identified as a picture of Alex Taub, "a representative of the U.S. Zionists and U.S. agent" who had been in Czechoslovakia since 1946. He had been conducting espionage and

sabotage in his capacity as adviser to Fabinger in the automobile industry.

Margolius then told the court what he knew of Taub's past. Taub was a Zionist and a representative of General Motors in the United States. Before he became Fabinger's advisor he was an advisor to Chiang Kai-shek's General Staff. Margolius also recalled Taub's hostility toward Czechoslovakia's new regime. Margolius met Taub in the summer of 1948 at a Prague conference with Loebl at which it was agreed that Taub would work out a concrete plan for a campaign to undermine the Czechoslovak economy.

The Prosecutor then had a document entitled: "Program of the Ueberall Campaign" dated June 19, 1948. This was identified by Margolius.

The accused was asked for details about the so-called "dollar offensive."

Margolius said that the purpose of that offensive was to create Czechoslovak dependence on the United States. Exports to the United States were effected at a "tremendous loss" to Czechoslovakia because of the very low prices, frequently below production cost. The dollar offensive project was drafted by Margolius himself in cooperation with Karel Fink and Loebl at instructions from Slansky.

In 1948 Margolius and Loebl supported a "harmful proposal" of Dr. Hoesslein, an Israeli Zionist and Czechoslovak emigre, whereby Czechoslovakia was to help with the construction of a pencil factory in Palestine. Under the pretext that the machinery to be exported was old equipment, Margolius and Loebl arranged for the transfer to Palestine of machinery from the nationalized Koh-I-Noor-Hardtmuth factory in Ceske Budejovice; the machinery was worth over 10 million kcs. "The transfer was not carried out because the plan was unmasked," Mar-

golius added. The Prosecutor completed: "By the workers who prevented your sabotage."

Margolius then continued to specify machinery exports to Palestine in 1948 and 1949, when "Jewish bourgeois elements" emigrated to Palestine. In those years exports were made with the agreement and knowledge of the Commission for Foreign Trade attached to the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and consisting of Loeb, Fischl, Margolius and Planer. Ostensibly old but in fact very well preserved and usable machinery, mostly taken from factories formerly owned by Czechoslovak capitalists who had already emigrated or who intended to emigrate to Palestine, was exported.

Those people were thus enabled to reacquire production equipment the export of which was not permitted. Those transactions caused Czechoslovakia damage running into many millions, and not only because important equipment was lost to the country but also because the machinery was taken out of the country at very low prices. The presiding judge then questioned Margolius on the 1950 trade agreement between Czechoslovakia and Israel.

The accused, who was instrumental in the conclusion of that agreement, described it as yet another act of sabotage of the Czechoslovak economy; its harmfulness lay in the fact that 17 percent of the exports to Israel remained, in effect, unpaid for, while at the same time the transfer of property which the Government did not allow to be exported was thus made possible.

The Prosecutor then made the following observation: "How was it possible for you to conclude such harmful agreements? You knew that Czechoslovakia does not shut herself off from trade agreements with the capitalist countries, provided certain conditions are observed; that is,

the agreements must be based on the principles of equality, mutual advantage, and both parties' sovereignty. We are not closing the door to such agreements with the capitalist countries."

Margolius submitted that his sabotage had consisted in subordinating the interests of Czechoslovakia to those of the capitalist countries. He gave these examples:

In talks with Denmark in 1950 he agreed to exports of heavy machinery especially for power plants, steel works, and others to Denmark in exchange for less important and essential commodities such as various foodstuffs and spices.

Similarly damaging agreements were concluded with Sweden, Norway, Belgium, and Holland. Each of these treaties envisaged the import of large quantities of fish and fish products. All this was in accord with the policy of maintaining Czechoslovakia's dependence on the capitalist West. Margolius was particularly against imports from Poland, although she could have easily met Czechoslovakia's fish demands. By his policy he had sabotaged the aforesaid postulates of trade between Czechoslovakia and other countries.

The same line was taken in arranging a trade agreement with Great Britain under which Czechoslovakia was to export to the United Kingdom television tubes. This "directly endangered Czechoslovakia's defense potential." Margolius not only agreed to the export of the tubes but in later years even actively supported it, notwithstanding the fact that he had been warned by the Ministry of Defense that these tubes could be used for military purposes. He thereby deliberately weakened Czechoslovakia's and strengthened Britain's defense capacities. He agreed to the Prosecutor's submission that he had thereby

endeavored to add to the war strength of the capitalists.

Margolius further pleaded guilty to having allowed exports of food whereby the provisioning of the Czechoslovak people had been endangered. He explained that in 1950 and at the beginning of 1951 there had been a critical meat supply position in Czechoslovakia; "with a view to creating dissatisfaction among the public with the Communists and the Government and to interfering with the nation's food supply, I gave instructions to continue meat exports to the capitalist countries."

He realized at the same time that the meat shortage had to be made up by imports from the democratic countries. When meat exports were banned later, he made use of the fact that legally only the export of meat and not of canned meat was forbidden and arranged for the export of cans. In that policy he was assisted by Rudolf Smejkal, the managing director of Koospol, who carried out these transactions with capitalist firms.

At the same time a critical grain situation existed compelling the reintroduction of food rationing by the Government. Again with the same subversive purposes in mind Margolius gave instructions that grain should be exported to the capitalist countries in accordance with a number of agreed transactions with Dutch firms in 1950. At the end of 1950 Smejkal sent some twenty thousand tons of grain to Holland as well as other exports to Switzerland and Belgium.

Margolius covered up those acts of sabotage by pretending that if these exports to Holland could not take place, exchange deliveries under the above mentioned agreements would stop and that Koospol would be sued for breach of contract.

The Prosecutor extracted from the defendant a confession that his sabotage virtually forced the Government to reintroduce bread and flour rationing in February 1951.

The commentator continued by giving a summary of Margolius' admission of his part in organizing, in 1948 at the initiative of Loebel, the Merkuria mutual trading association, whose chief purpose was trade with the capitalist countries. It damaged Czechoslovak economy, supported the enemies of the Republic, and concluded agreements favorable to the capitalists. "It was an organization which carried out far flung economic espionage and caused great damage to the Republic. During its existence it spent nearly 50 million kcs. on administration, by which sum our economy was defrauded."

Prosecutor Ales then asked the defendant to explain how his foreign trade sabotage supported Tito.

Margolius agreed that deliveries of aircraft engines and coke at very unfavorable terms to Czechoslovakia were continued to Yugoslavia after the Cominform resolution.

Prosecutor: "You knew then, and even before the Cominform resolution, that Tito openly adhered to the imperialist camp?"

Margolius: "Yes, I did."

The defendant was then asked to illustrate the case of the exports by Kovo (a nationalized enterprise).

Margolius said: "Kovo, for instance, demanded 400 percent more for electric motors supplied to the USSR than from capitalist States."

Margolius then told the court how he sabotaged the supply of paper for the Hungarian People's Democracy. In 1951 Hungary requested an additional 1,000 tons of newsprint. He refused this request, untruthfully asserting that

the paper was not available. At the same time he exported newsprint to Brazil at lower prices.

Prosecutor: "How else did you express your enmity toward the camp of democracy?"

Margolius: "It was expressed in the capitalistic attitude toward economic cooperation with the People's Democracies. A good example was the negotiations with Poland on scientific economic aid."

In 1948 Margolius supported, during these negotiations, the "wrecking attitude" of Frejka and Loebel, who demanded cash payment for such aid. The Polish representatives indignantly objected, as such an attitude was in contradiction to the spirit of cooperation between States building Socialism, "and they rightly invoked the example of the USSR, which grants scientific technical aid free of charge."

Margolius was then asked whether "the treacherous emigres" were financed "with the money of the working people." This he admitted. "The treacherous Czechoslovak emigres in the capitalist countries had basically the same hostile aims as our Conspiratorial Center, that is, the restoration of capitalism. For this reason we directly supported them — former Czechoslovak capitalists, many Zionists and Jewish capitalists, and other hostile elements."

They did this by allowing these elements to engage in Czechoslovak foreign trade and enabling them to make tremendous profits at the expense of Czechoslovakia. "In this connection it was not only a matter of supplying the emigres with a private income, but also of enabling them to finance their treacherous activities against the People's Democratic Czechoslovakia." Margolius himself engaged such emigres and paid out such funds through excessive commissions and other machinations.

Prosecutor: "In short, step by step every one of your actions in the field of foreign trade dragged Czechoslovakia further into the war camp?"

Margolius: "That is so."

Prosecutor: "You also knew that you enabled the Western imperialists to pursue a policy of discriminating interference in our economy by your systematic exhaustion of our credits with the capitalist countries. Tell us more about that."

Margolius admitted his guilt in this respect and added that "this hostile trade policy was the very opposite to that practiced by the Soviet Union." He also admitted that, in order to enrich capitalists, he had deliberately used capitalist firms as commercial intermediaries. At the end of 1949 or at the beginning of 1950, for instance, he had introduced the Swiss firm Sulzer into negotiations which could have been conducted directly between Czechoslovakia and Poland. The talks then concerned the delivery of diesel engines for some 18 million Swiss francs to Poland. On instructions from Margolius, a trilateral exchange agreement had been arranged, from which the Swiss capitalists benefited in every respect.

Margolius was then asked for details about sabotage of foreign trade with the USSR and the People's Democracies.

He repeated that he had endeavored to hamper the development of such trade relations and the main form of that sabotage had been to "force upon the People's Democracies and the USSR capitalist ways of trading. We did not adhere to contractual conditions, in particular we did not abide by delivery time limits, and finally we conducted a hostile price policy."

Exports to the capitalist countries were consequently priced very low, at times even less than production cost. The prices demanded from the democratic camp were substantially higher. The discrepancy between those two price levels amounted to anything from 40 to 90 — and even more — percent.

The Prosecutor wanted to know how Czechoslovak nationalized industries were at all in a position to know the price at which their products were exported.

Margolius: "They could not find out, and we made it impossible for anyone to check up on our sabotage export trade."

Margolius then gave a number of concrete examples. The representative of the Czechoslovak export firm Ligna in Britain was "the Jewish capitalist, Czechoslovak emigre and Zionist Schnitzer. The representative of Centrotex in the United States was the Jewish capitalist Lindt family, Zionists from Czechoslovakia. Other representatives of this firm in the United States were the former Czechoslovak capitalists Jerie and Korda.

The representative of Kovo in Argentina was the Jewish capitalist Becher from Roudnice. The representative of Kovo in Brazil was the Jewish manufacturer Singer from Plzen. The representative of the machine factories in the United States was a former director of the Skoda works, Fried. The representative of Exico in Venezuela was the Czechoslovak refugee Odehnal. The representative of the Czechoslovak mines in Italy was the Jewish capitalist and former coal baron Guttmann.

Asked to give details about Guttmann, Margolius said that he was the owner of a Trieste firm with which the Czechoslovak mines concluded an agreement damaging to Czechoslo-

vakia. "The damaging character of this agreement resulted from the fact that Guttmann was not only given very high commission, but was also enabled to appropriate any additional profit margin resulting from the sale of coal in Italy.

"To this must be added the fact that Guttmann's participation in the export of coal to Italy was utterly unnecessary, as Italy must import this coal in any case." Margolius said that he was aware of this, but in spite of it, he deliberately supported the agreement with Guttmann. Even when this agreement with Guttmann terminated, he was instrumental in arranging new and similar transactions with Guttmann.

There were other methods, too, for supplying the treacherous emigres with funds. Margolius mentioned in this connection "bribes which we call calories." Cases in which they occurred were, for instance, the export of a distillery to Argentina, of power plants and a sugar refinery to Iran, of electric motors to Sweden, and so forth. In all these cases, the representatives of Czechoslovak foreign trade abroad, mostly emigre Zionists and other hostile elements, received huge sums amounting to tens of millions of kcs.

Margolius was then asked about agreements concerning illegal compensation for nationalized property. He replied: "The Anglo-Dutch cartel Unilever received compensation for the nationalization of the Georg Schich firm in Usti-on-Elbe, which was part of this cartel. (Schicht was by far the largest manufacturer of soap and margarine in Czechoslovakia).

"In spite of the fact that under the Czechoslovak nationalization law, Unilever had not the slightest claim for compensation for the nationalization of this Nazi enterprise, Loebel in 1948

concluded an agreement with Unilever on compensation for this Nazi enterprise. I myself carried out this illegal agreement later, and in 1949 I negotiated, on Loeb's instructions, with the director of Unilever, Hansard, for the extension of this agreement.

"I must admit that during my connections with Hansard from 1949 to 1951 I supplied espionage reports to Hansard on Czechoslovak foreign trade, either directly or through his representative and collaborator Ascher, of whose connection with the intelligence service I was aware."

As a further example of the enrichment of the capitalists, Margolius cited the fact that after the attack of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists on Korea, tires were exported to capitalist countries at prices prevailing before the outbreak of the Korean war. "By giving this instruction, I wanted to damage the Czechoslovak economy. The price of the raw rubber which we had to import from the capitalist world rose, as a result of the Korean war, by 80 percent. In this way the lower price of the tires exported to capitalist countries did not even cover the expenditure on raw material."

In 1948 and in 1949 he authorized the export of tires to Belgium at low prices and under favorable payment conditions. "Tires, some of them of the same type, were then reimported from Belgium." This caused losses to Czechoslovakia and enriched the capitalists by tens of millions of kcs. (This concluded the examination of Margolius).

The next accused to be examined was Otto Fischl, former Deputy Minister of Finance, described as "a bourgeois nationalist, the son of a rich merchant, and a collaborator of the Nazis."

Fischl pleaded guilty "of having been a member of the anti-State hostile centre, led by Rudolf

Slansky. As an accomplice of Rudolf Slansky and a Jewish bourgeois nationalist, I took part in the center's hostile actions, which were organized by the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and their agents in Israel, headed by Ben Gurion. These actions sought to enrich the Jewish bourgeoisie." Fischl's tasks were set by Slansky. He also collaborated with Geminder and was in direct contact "with the U.S.-British agents sent to Czechoslovakia by Ben Gurion."

Presiding Judge: "Who were these agents?"

Fischl: "They were the Israeli Minister Ehud Avriel, Dr. Felix, and Ben Schalom."

Presiding Judge: "Explain why you had such a hostile attitude toward the People's Democratic Czechoslovakia?"

Fischl: "Your honor, I could not possibly have any attitude but a hostile one."

Presiding Judge: "Why?"

Fischl: "I am a Jewish bourgeois nationalist." Fischl said that he was a partner in the solicitor's firm of Mautner, which catered mainly to the Jewish upper class. He received large sums for his work and in this way his interests became identical with this class. He was a member of "the Jewish bourgeois nationalist organization KAPR, and the League of Czech Jews" (KAPR was the student's organization of the league; both organizations stressed the Czech nationality of their members and were opposed to any form of Jewish nationalism, including Zionism).

During the occupation Fischl kept up his link with the bourgeoisie and collaborated with the Nazis, "and all this led me, after the liberation, on the path of hostility to the People's Democratic regime."

Asked about his collaboration with the Nazis, Fischl said that after Munich, he joined "the fascist organization called National Unity."

With his friends, the industrialists Pachi and Pick-Petrovsky, he was in contact with the high Nazi judge, Dr. Zechner, with the Nazi officer Petrzel, and with Libuse Rozidlova, an estate owner, who told him herself that she worked for the Gestapo.

After the liberation, he hid them in his apartment and shielded them from punishment; later they emigrated to South America.

At this point, the prosecution submitted a document, from which it appeared that the above-mentioned Dr. Zechner was on the list of those guilty of the massacres of Lidice and Lezaky.

"When I saw, after the liberation in 1945, that the Communist Party would be the decisive force in Czechoslovakia, I joined it and, in order to be entrusted with high offices, I forged the date of my joining; I pretended to have been a member of the Party since 1928."

As a result of this successful forgery, Fischl was first given employment in the Svoboda printing works, and in 1946 he was appointed head of the economic department of the Secretariat. He knew Slansky for a long time, and Slansky knew that he, Fischl, was not a prewar member of the Communist Party. In spite of this, Slansky appointed him to the economic department and also entrusted him with administering his private property.

In 1946 Slansky instructed him to represent Slansky's claim to the heritage of his parents. The estate consisted of two houses in Nezvestice, a shop, and some land. He sold the shop and the stock to the local cooperative society for 200,000 Czech crowns. He let the houses and deposited the rent in a savings book in his own name; he did the same with the land.

Fischl was then asked about the sabotage he carried out in the economic and financial sphere.

He began this sabotage while working at the Central Committee of the Communist Party by "supporting the endeavors of the Zionists and of the Jewish-bourgeois-nationalistic elements to get hold of the national administration of property."

Together with Dr. Eckstein, Ales, and Svabik, Fischl successfully delayed the merging of the National Administration of Property with the Resettlement Office and the National Reconstruction Fund from 1946 until 1948. The National Administration of Property fell into the hands of Jewish reactionaries, who used it for "strengthening the bourgeois nationalist and Zionist position in the State by allocating the property mainly to Jewish bourgeois nationalists and Zionist elements."

The prosecutor submitted depositions by experts, from which it appeared that Fischl caused damage amounting to 10 billion kcs. in the administration of property — a sum of which the working people were deprived. The prosecutor then asked Fischl how he damaged the national economy when working in the Ministry of Finance. Fischl said that he had been appointed to the Ministry by Slansky.

"At that time, when there was large-scale emigration to Israel and to the big capitalist countries by the Jewish bourgeoisie, it was my task to help this bourgeoisie to transfer their property, and by so doing to steal more of the property of our workers." Slansky gave Fischl a free hand in all this.

This emigration was organized by "the Zionist organizations, such as the Central Federation of Zionists, the Keren Hayesod and Keren Hayemet (the two national funds of Zionism) and the fascist organization Irgun Zvai Leumi. The U.S. Joint organization financed in part the emigra-

tion of these reactionaries and procured the means for this by large scale foreign currency machination and other tricks."

Fischl was then asked who, in addition to him, was in contact with the Zionist organizations and supported this illegal transfer of property. He replied that it was Geminder and Slansky and "the U.S. agents who posed in Czechoslovakia as Israeli diplomats—the Minister President Dr. Felix, Ben Schalom, and others.

"I agreed with Slansky that, should this illegal transfer of property come to light, I would take responsibility to cover him. I informed Frank of this agreement with Slansky. I agreed to this arrangement because I expected that Slansky would help me should something happen."

The prosecutor then asked him why the Jewish religious communities were interested in this transfer of property. He replied that this was so "because they were dominated by Jewish reactionaries, Zionists, cosmopolitans, and other hostile elements. These elements in the end went so far as to misuse the cloak of the Jewish religion for carrying on Zionist, hostile activities."

Asked about details of his cooperation with the "United States-Israeli agents," Fischl replied: "In 1948 Geminder introduced me to Dr. Felix, one of the main organizers of Zionist activities in Czechoslovakia, who first used the false name of Dr. Berger and later posed as an Israeli diplomat.

"He arranged a meeting between Israeli Minister Avriel and myself. Avriel also used a false name, namely Ueberall."

Fischl agreed with Avriel to support the hostile Zionist actions fully and carried out this agreement in collaboration with other "U.S. agents, sent by Ben Gurion in the camouflage of Israeli diplomats, such as Rafael Friedl, who used the false name of Ben Schalom, Tigrund and Citron."

He cooperated with these Israeli diplomats mainly in questions of emigration.

"Dr. Felix asked me to help in the transfer of the property of these emigrants, who were the most reactionary part of Czechoslovak Jewry. I permitted them to transfer even equipment of workshops and other valuables."

Fischl informed Dr. Rezek, the chairman of the Keren Hayesod, of his agreement with Felix. "The transfer was carried out in this way: The emigrants forged their profession or occupation in accordance with what equipment they wanted to transfer; they bought this equipment, often on credit, and then made false statements on their applications for transfer."

Continuing his evidence, Fischl said that through illegal export of property, the Czechoslovak people suffered losses amounting to billions of Czechoslovak kcs. Asked by the prosecutor to explain why he allowed Jewish capitalists to export huge fortunes while he was very strict with applications submitted by poor people, the accused said that he covered up by his strict attitude toward the poor his allowances to the rich.

Fischl set aside a report submitted by the controlling organs of his Ministry which drew his attention to the heavy losses owing to the export of vast fortunes. He went on to describe "action Bricha," under which the illegal transfer of Jewish reactionary elements as well as their property took place, not only from Czechoslovakia but also from the neighboring People's Democratic States—Poland, Hungary, and Rumania. Transport from Slovakia was directed to Vienna; from there it left for Israel and other capitalist countries. People who were sent in this way also included individuals wanted by State security organs. They were sent under false names, and their doc-

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uments were falsified by the central Zionist organization, which stamped them with false stamps of the district court in Bratislava.

While this action was in progress, the accused told Slansky that it caused great losses to Czechoslovakia, without giving him any figures. Slansky, in the presence of Frank and Geminder, told the accused that this did not matter, and that Zionist actions in Czechoslovakia should be given a free hand.

Asked by the Prosecutor how the accused was connected with the Prague branch of the "Joint" (American Joint Distribution Agency), Fischl stated that he was in contact with its General Secretary, Henry Loewy, and with Dr. Gregor. He promised them the duty-free import of various necessities from the United States for the benefit of the Zionist organizations in Czechoslovakia, and the accused also arranged this.

The accused also covered the large-scale currency machinations of the Joint Zionist Organization, which consisted of payments made by emigrants, who gave money to this organization at the unofficial rate of exchange, while the "Joint" paid him the equivalent in dollars in the country to which these people were proceeding.

Fischl cited the following example. The "Joint" received from a person 500 kcs. for which he received one dollar. The central office of the "Joint" in the United States thus saved nine dollars, because if an official transaction were conducted, the organization would have had to provide ten dollars in exchange for 500 kcs. Money thus gained was used by the "Joint Zionist organization" for the financing of hostile and disruptive activities against Czechoslovakia,

and also for organizing financial transfers of the emigrants to foreign countries.

In order to protect the "Joint" the accused spread false information about its charitable activities in Czechoslovakia.

The commentator stated that the losses caused by Fischl had amounted to hundreds of millions of Czech crowns.

When the recorded excerpts of the trial were broadcast again, the voice of the Prosecutor was heard saying that from the report of experts, it is evident that the losses brought about by the accused through his activities with the Zionist organization amounted to five billion kcs. He asked: "Does this amount of five billion kcs. represent all losses which you caused to our national economy?"

Fischl: "No."

The accused then began to describe how he sabotaged the penal department of the Finance Ministry for the benefit of U.S. agencies. When a group of Israeli citizens who were sent to Czechoslovakia to carry out fraudulent business deals and currency machinations were arrested, it transpired that business deals were organized from Israel all over the world, in which use was made of differences in currency and prices, caused through postwar conditions. These transactions were used so as to cause considerable damage in the countries where they took place.

These deals were organized by the Israeli company, Solel Boneh, which worked in collaboration with and under the direct supervision of the Israeli semifascist trade unions, the Histradrut. The political representative of these trade unions, Gruenbaum, was in direct contact with Dr. Felix, who organized these frauds in Czechoslovakia.

In the arrested group was a man called Reich, whom Fischl released on Felix's intervention. The accused also ordered that instead of a fine of 13 million kcs., Reich was to pay only 2.3 million.

In the next part of his evidence Fischl described the case of the Ander family, who owned numerous stores in Czechoslovakia's leading cities, as well as abroad. This family caused the country damage amounting to 70 million kcs. through tax and currency frauds. Further intrigues by this family caused the State losses of another 16 million kcs. The accused intervened in the trial which then took place. He stopped this trial on condition that the Anders gave up their business interests.

This took place at a time when the Anders stores had already been nationalized and, therefore, were not owned by them. In this way the accused saved the Anders their vast private fortunes.

A similar course was adopted by Fischl in the case of the firm Arnstein and Pieck, in which the Vogl brothers, international capitalists, were partners. Richard Vogl escaped abroad after the February events. The other brother was already in the United States at the time.

Through the firm in America they engaged in various currency frauds which caused Czechoslovakia considerable losses. When these frauds were unearthed, and two leading employees, Koblich and Waldstein, were arrested, Fischl arranged their release. Later they escaped abroad.

In this way, Fischl said, he helped criminals who robbed the Czechoslovak people of 80 million kcs. Asked by the Prosecutor whether he discussed this case with Slansky, the accused said that he did not, but later on he told the ac-

cused Svab, because he knew that the latter had intervened on behalf of the Conspiratorial Center and that nothing would happen to him. It is possible that Slansky and Svab discussed the matter. The Prosecutor then read a statement by Svab taken during a preparatory hearing, from which it transpired that this was actually the case.

After the February events Fischl helped manufacturers and merchants in transferring their fortunes abroad. In this connection the accused mentioned Pacht, Pick-Petrovsky, Frejka's brother-in-law, Koerber, and others. In the case of Pacht, the Czechoslovak people suffered a loss of 70 million kcs. and the accused was rewarded by Pacht with 120,000 kcs.

As the export of property valued only up to 200,000 kcs. was permitted, the accused evaded this provision by arranging for lower valuation, and in this way it was possible to export fortunes worth millions.

"I admit explicitly that in the case of low valuations I acted criminally, and that I maintained this practice in the interests of the bourgeoisie whom I helped in the export of property."

Asked by the Prosecutor what he wished to achieve through his activities, Fischl said: "In this manner we undermined economic and political conditions in Czechoslovakia and prepared the ground for our criminal intentions, that is, to bring about a change from the People's Democratic regime to capitalism, to lead Czechoslovakia into the capitalist camp; and we actually worked in this way for war." (This concluded the examination of Fischl.)

NOVEMBER 24, 1952 — AFTERNOON SESSION

The trial reopened at 1600 hours with the examination of Otto Sling, another member of "the

Slansky gang." The Prague announcer described Sling's attitude as "insolent and cynical. He had admitted without any regret his espionage activities and his destructive work. In front of the microphone he had adopted an orator's pose."

Presiding Judge: "We are now continuing in the trial with the examination of the defendant Otto Sling. Do you know the indictment?"

Sling: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "You know with which crimes you are being charged?"

Sling: "Yes."

Presiding Judge: "Do you plead guilty?"

Sling: "Yes, I plead guilty to all counts of the indictment. I admit to having been a member of the anti-State conspiratorial group headed by Rudolf Slansky. This group consisted of elements hostile to popular democratic Czechoslovakia coming from the ranks of bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyists, collaborators, and similar enemies. We conducted our disruptive activities in all sectors of political, economic, and public life, in the National Security Corps and in the army. I particularly have in mind the hostile cadres policy, the sabotage of national economy.

"I admit that during my stay in England from 1939 to 1945 I was engaged in hostile, opportunist activities. During the same period I established espionage contacts with officials of the British Committee, later called the 'Trust Fund.' These organizations were in fact parts of the British and American espionage services."

Prosecutor: "What was your attitude at that time toward the Party?"

Sling: "As an enemy inside the Czechoslovak Communist Party and in my hatred of the USSR, I spread mistrust of the Soviet Union among the members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party in London.

"In 1939 I established contacts with the American spy Emanuel Voska, to whom I supplied reports about the Communist emigres in England. These reports I sent to him through his associate and agent in London, Vaclav Pacak. I also admit that I established espionage contacts with Hanson, an agent of the intelligence service, who instructed me at a conference held in 1944 in his office in the British Information Ministry to conduct certain concrete espionage acts during my future stay in Czechoslovakia.

"After my return to Czechoslovakia, as a member of the anti-State conspiratorial group and as the leading regional secretary of the Communist Party in Brno, I held up the consolidation of the Czechoslovak economy and I sabotaged the reconstruction of industries in the Brno Region. I also conducted a hostile cadre's policy by planting capitalist elements in Ministries, economic enterprises, the Civil Service, the army, and the national security corps.

"In cooperation with Rudolf Slansky, I built up a subversive group of senior officers in Brno, and under his instructions, I informed this group about the intentions of the Conspiratorial Center. I enabled members of this group such as Gen. Novak, Komzik, Drnek, Hollander, and others to join the Communist Party which in turn made it possible for them to assume responsible positions in the Army. In 1947 and 1948 these people were appointed to various positions in the army by Slansky so that they could implement the policy of the conspiratorial group.

"I also enabled hostile elements to infiltrate into the economic commission attached to the Brno regional committee of the Communist Party. Even after February 1948 I allowed hostile elements to continue in their appointments in the Civil Service in the Brno region, and I

made it possible for them to hold responsible positions in the retail trade.

In the conclusion of my plea of guilty, I would like to say that our Anti-State Conspiratorial Center, headed by Slansky, endeavored to restore capitalism, and that it was in fact a fifth column in Czechoslovakia and the spearhead of an internal attack by the American imperialists against People's Democratic Czechoslovakia. In case of war this center would have supported American aggression and would have worked for the defeat of the Czechoslovak People's Democracy."

At the request of the Presiding Judge, Sling then described his "adventurous past and his dirty work during his residence in England."

Sling: "In 1939 in London I was recruited for espionage work on behalf of the American espionage service by the American spy Emanuel Voska, who cooperated with the British intelligence service. In my contacts with Voska I saw an opportunity to build up for myself a good position among the emigres. Hence I made an appointment with him in his room in the Strand Palace Hotel in London. He asked me to send him regular reports about the Communist emigres in Britain."

Asked by the Judge whether he knew what the purpose was of Voska's visit to London in 1939, Sling said: "I know that his temporary stay in London was connected with his espionage work. Voska used his London visit for the purpose of establishing contacts with Czechoslovak emigres and their recruitment for spying on behalf of the American espionage service. Voska was an old agent of the American intelligence service and a close collaborator of the leading agents of the American espionage service, Donovan, Dulles, and others.

"Shortly after my meeting with Voska I visited Josef Belina, then chairman of the Czechoslovak group in the 'Trust Fund,' showing him the credentials given to me by Voska. Belina immediately offered me membership on the Presidium of the Czechoslovak group. As this offer suited me, I accepted. I wanted to make sure of an advantageous position among the emigres. My work inside the Czechoslovak group enabled me to carry out the instructions given me by Voska.

"Belina himself was not only an agent of Voska but also closely cooperated with the British police and was thus a direct agent of the British intelligence service. He regularly supplied reports about Communists. In the second half of April 1939 I sent a letter to Voska containing espionage information."

Prosecutor: "Voska is in the hands of the State security organs and the letter you mentioned is here. Do you recognize it?"

Sling: "Yes, I identify this letter from a copy which I possess. This letter carries the number 'one' in accordance with my arrangement with Voska."

Sling then described his espionage contacts with Pacak to whom he had also been introduced through Voska. To Pacak he supplied profiles of Communist officials, particularly to those who were about to arrive in England. Pacak passed these reports on to Voska, who needed them for "the American espionage agents Donovan and Dulles." The Americans were making use of these reports in drawing up their plans of post-war interference in Czechoslovak internal affairs.

The Prosecutor then asked Sling to describe the activities of the British Committee and "Trust Fund" and Sling's own work inside these organizations.

Sling: "Officially, the British Committee was explained as a charitable organization which was meant to assist refugees from Czechoslovakia. In reality, the British Committee induced emigres to work for the American and British espionage services. This was done for the purpose of implementing future hostile imperialist plans in Central Europe, in particular during the postwar era.

"In the background of the British Committee was the American espionage organization, the Office of Strategic Services, headed by Dulles, Donovan, and others. This work was done on behalf of the OSS by Field and Voska with a view to similar activities after the war. Belina introduced me to the leading officials of the British committee and from then on I conducted espionage work in close cooperation with these officials.

"In July 1939 the British Committee was reorganized and became the 'Czech Refugee Trust Fund.' This reorganization was carried out because the British Committee no longer suited the plans of the British Home Office, which wanted to dominate completely the political emigres who had come to England because of the war. Inside the management of the 'Trust Fund,' the American and British intelligence services built up for themselves even better positions for the implementation of their postwar plans. Obviously, I kept secret from the Party my espionage work in the 'Trust Fund.' Equally, I did not disclose to the Party that I had helped Pacak to acquire a leading position in the 'Trust Fund' on Voska's instructions."

"Throughout the war and after the war the fiercest enemies of the working people were employed by the British radio, such types as the right-wing Social Democrat and traitor Kosina,

the Trotskyist Lev Braun, Mrusak, and many others. These people were carefully selected and trained as spies and saboteurs in special AMGOT courses."

"The recruitment for AMGOT was done by the 'Trust Fund' in close cooperation with the Labor Party. Courses for officers from all the foreign armies were organized at the same time. Even after the conclusion of the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty, Benes and Ingr sent 60 officers to these AMGOT courses which lasted between six and twelve months. These officers were meant to assume leading positions later in liberated Czechoslovakia and to hold them in the spirit of Benes' and Ingr's reactionary policy which aimed at the establishment of a military dictatorship.

"I expected that Benes and his followers would rule Czechoslovakia after the war. Hence, as a careerist, I tried to strengthen my position with these people."

Prosecutor: "Were you aware of Benes' close relations with Anglo-American ruling circles and their espionage services?"

Sling: "During and after the war, Benes endeavored to restore capitalism in Czechoslovakia in order to strengthen the position of the Anglo-American bloc in Central Europe. Benes, Ripka, Ingr, and the others were carrying out the instructions given to them by the Anglo-American imperialists. For instance, in 1943, when Benes refused to go to Moscow to sign the Czechoslovak-Soviet treaty, he declared that he was an advocate of Anglo-American policy and that he refused to do anything that would lead to differences between himself and Churchill and Eden.

"For the same reason Benes handed over the whole machinery of the Deuxieme Bureau of the Ministry of National Defense, headed by Gen.

Moravec, to the Anglo-American intelligence service. He also deliberately sent to the Soviet Union those Czechoslovak officers whom he knew were cooperating with the intelligence service, such as Gen. Pika, the former military attache in Moscow.

"Whatever Benes did was motivated by one purpose only: To strengthen the Anglo-American position in postwar Czechoslovakia. His plans for internal policy were designed to the same purpose. Thus, for instance, up to 1942 Benes maintained regular contacts with the traitor and fascist, Hacha.

"In 1941 Benes declared that he was regularly issuing directives to Hacha, who accepted and implemented them. It was for this reason that Benes refused so stubbornly to sign a decree concerning the punishment of collaborators whom he considered as the backbone of his scheme for a military dictatorship."

Prosecutor: "Name your English espionage contacts."

Sling: "I established contact with the British intelligence service agent Hanson, whom I met in the autumn of 1941. Before my departure to liberated Czechoslovakia in December 1944 Hanson invited me to his office and gave me long-term tasks in respect of espionage and for my future subversive activities in Czechoslovakia."

Sling then described his return to Czechoslovakia from England via Moscow. He stopped on this journey for two weeks in Moscow, where he realized that the Communist Party was going to play a leading part in Czechoslovakia. Therefore, he endeavored to make contacts with leading Czechoslovak Communists in Moscow. The contacts which he established in Moscow were more important both for the purpose of his

career and his subversive work than his old contact with Benes people.

"I became a member of Slansky's conspiratorial group during 1945, when I was appointed leading secretary of the Communist Party's regional committee in Brno." Some of Slansky's associates, particularly Marie Svermova, he had met before that, in January 1945 in Moscow. Here Sling used his acquaintance with Svermova for furthering his career. Since they both shared the same hostile attitude, their relations after their return to Czechoslovakia became much closer. Through Svermova he reestablished contacts in April 1945 in Kosice with Slansky, whom he had met before the war.

Prosecutor: "This means that in Kosice you had actually started to implement the directives given to you by Hanson and Benes?"

Sling: "Yes, in April 1945 in Kosice, Slansky told me that I would be given a job in the Party machinery as a regional secretary. On this occasion I told Slansky that I had been recruited for espionage work by the American agent Voska and that I had also worked for the 'Trust Fund,' a branch of the British intelligence service."

Sling also claimed to have told Slansky of his espionage contacts with Belina, of his subversive activities in the Young Czechoslovakia Organization and the Czechoslovak Youth Center, and of his cooperation with the Benes clique. Slansky told him that despite all these activities in England he would be given the job of regional secretary.

"On that occasion Slansky also asked me to find a suitable doctor for the chairman of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. This proved to me that Slansky's attitude to myself had not changed even after I had admitted my espionage

nage work in England. Slansky then fully agreed to the person of the Jewish bourgeois nationalist, Dr. Landislav Haas, whom I brought to him. Haas was a member of the so-called 'Doctors' Mission' which had been sent to Czechoslovakia from England.

"When I saw Slansky's reaction to the confession of my past, I realized that such a type as myself suited him well. I obtained final evidence of this in the second half of April, 1945, when Slansky included me in a Communist Party delegation, headed by Svermova, which was sent to Southern Moravia."

Sling arrived in Brno in May, 1945, where he was appointed by Svermova as representative of the Communist Party Central Committee. In June 1945 he visited Slansky in Prague to obtain directives on the treatment of Communist officials who had betrayed the Party during the Nazi occupation. On that occasion Slansky had told me that use should be made of all these people, "including such semi-Trotskyites as Milan Reiman." This instruction of Slansky's he interpreted as a directive to continue his hostile activities inside the Communist Party.

Another interview with Slansky, in August 1945, confirmed this impression. During this interview Slansky told him that he, Sling, was to act in his position as regional secretary strictly in accordance with Slansky's directives. "I realized that Slansky was endeavoring to isolate Klement Gottwald, the Chairman of the Communist Party. I accepted these directives and I became associated with Slansky's hostile activities." Thus this period represented the real beginning of the era when Slansky collected around himself enemy elements with a view to implementing his conspiratorial plans.

The filling of important positions with Trotskyites, as practiced by Slansky, Geminder, Taussigova, and other members of the conspiracy, including the defendant Sling, provided them with a secure foundation for their disruptive work. They used the same tactics as the Titoist clique in Yugoslavia and their aims had been essentially the same. Under cover of the slogan of "Czechoslovakia's road to Socialism" they tried to drag Czechoslovakia into the imperialist war camp and to obstruct the establishment of Socialism.

Asked for details of his hostile activities after his appointment as Party secretary for the Brno Region, Sling explained that he had aimed at complete domination of the regional Party apparatus and had been a dictator with a free hand in all spheres of the region's political, economic, and public life. He "pursued the same hostile work in the region, and with the same aim as Slansky had in the central apparatus of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia." In detail, he had since 1945 placed "petty bourgeois elements" in the regional apparatus, such as Vladimir Lenz, Ruzena Dubova, Jaroslav Kvis, and others. These people were under his "absolute influence and entirely dependent on my instructions and advice."

Sling also chose "enemy elements" for posts in the Economic Commission of the regional committee of the Communist Party. He appointed the Trotskyite Dr. Hoffmann as chairman of the commission, and Jaroslav Kvis, a wartime collaborator with the Germans, as deputy chairman. With Kvis' help, he then filled other economic posts with enemy elements, such as the collaborator Frantisek Risanek and others.

"In short, I pursued my hostile activities by appointing young and inexperienced cadres, by dictatorial methods, through the bypassing of the Party's elected bodies, through suppression of internal Party democracy, and through silencing of criticism and self-criticism; thus I was enabled to carry out hostile work in all spheres. This hostile work, which aimed at disrupting the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, was condoned by Slansky, Svermova, Frank, and the other conspirators. After the February events we then tried to introduce these methods into other regions of the Republic."

Sling went on to explain that, with the support of Slansky and his conspirators, he carried out a number of schemes designed to strengthen his own position in the Party and to cover his real intentions.

Asked for details of his industrial sabotage, Sling said: "I systematically carried out a hostile cadres policy. Thus, for instance, I appointed the collaborator Isznk as plant manager of the building contractors' enterprises in Brno. When he was arrested for sabotage in 1949, I had him released on my instructions and reappointed him to his post. I appointed another collaborator, the agrarian Sazavsky as manager of the Slavkov (Austerlitz) sugar refinery."

By deliberately concentrating the attention of the Party and administrative apparatus on "trifles," he also "concealed the importance and significance of the renovation and development of industrial enterprises in the Brno Region and of the economic enhancement of the region generally." In 1948, with the knowledge and approval of Slansky and Frank, Sling called a conference of industrialists and big businessmen whose property had been nationalized. At this conference, he and the Trotskyite Dr. Hoffmann

told them that Sling would appoint them to responsible posts in nationalized enterprises in Moravia.

This policy was "most fruitful" in the building enterprises where he arranged for these former private entrepreneurs to remain in leading positions "under the pretext of their expert knowledge and indispensability." To enable these people to engage in large scale sabotage, he enrolled them in the Communist Party, against opposition by the workers, and even confirmed them in their posts as managers and deputy managers during the reorganization of nationalized firms in 1949. He was fully aware that these men were saboteurs. They worked under his directives.

From the outset, said Sling, the conspiracy aimed at filling key positions in heavy engineering with his own men, knowing the importance of that sector of the economy in Czechoslovakia's Socialist transformation. That was why Slansky, Frank, and Frejka appointed "exponents of capitalism" and "former capitalist directors" to key posts in heavy engineering industry, such as "the Jewish bourgeois nationalist engineer Fabinger" who held a high post in the Ostrava heavy engineering industry during the First Republic and who was appointed Director General of Heavy Engineering after the war on Frejka's proposal with the approval of Frank and Slansky. Fabinger had worked under Slansky's and Frank's directives and, in pursuance of their subversive cadres policy, had appointed "capitalist directors and hostile elements."

One example was Fried, formerly export manager of Kovo. This man, with Fabinger's knowledge, used the money earned by Kovo's exports to build himself a factory in America in 1947 and he never returned to Czechoslovakia. All these capitalist elements conducted extensive sabotage

by maintaining the old capitalist production methods in their plants and by obstructing the adoption of a Socialist production program. Thus they "made the chaos in heavy engineering even worse."

Questioned about his sabotage in agriculture, Sling explained that the conspirators had always realized that conditions in the countryside were vital for the implementation of their plans for the restoration of capitalism. That was why they rallied around them their "natural allies, from among the landed gentry, agrarians, the village rich, and other similar enemies under the slogan of winning over the most influential members of the village community." They helped them to penetrate the Party and to gain important posts in cooperatives, the farmers' union, State farms, and so on. Sling said that he personally had appointed a man named Lezak to be manager and one (Dracke) to be deputy manager of Moragra, the central organ of cooperatives in Moravia.

Slansky approved Sling's appointments. He remembered in particular a conversation with Slansky in the autumn of 1947 when he recommended the brothers Jaroslav, Jan, and Karel Kutan for administrative posts in agriculture, although he told Slansky quite openly that they were former owners of big estates. Although Slansky knew them to be enemy elements, he approved their appointment. About a year later, with the approval of a further member of the conspiracy, the Director General of State Farms, Smrkovsky, appointed Jan and Karel Kutan to be State farm managers, and Jaroslav Kutan to be regional inspector of State farms in the Brno Region.

At this point the court was told by the Prosecutor, that the Kutans had been sentenced for

espionage and had admitted working against the Communist Party, to key posts in the police. The People's Democratic order. Asked whether he had kept these elements in key positions after February 1948, Sling confirmed that he had. He had seen to it that no purge was carried out in Moragra, he said.

The Prosecutor then turned his questions to the "conspirators'" intentions with regard to the armed forces. Sling stated that late in 1945 "the Jewish bourgeois nationalist Bedrich Kopold," then an education officer, called on him at the regional secretariat and told him that it might be possible to win over a number of influential senior officers.

Kopold named Generals Novak, Kouril, and others. In reply to Sling's questions, Kopold had told him that they were "reactionary bourgeois officers and participants of the counterrevolutionary putsch in Russia and had even at that time fought actively against the Red Army in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Legion."

Sling said he informed Slansky of his talk with Kopold and Slansky had stressed to him the need for getting these people into the Communist Party. Slansky told him to find more such bourgeois officers in order to strengthen the position of the conspiracy within the army. Slansky's instructions were clear and Sling had therefore enabled Generals Novak, Kouril, Trnka, Bulandr, Budin, Pasek, and others to join the Communist Party.

Early in 1946 Slansky instructed Sling to form these senior bourgeois officers and generals into an organized group and to remain in close touch with them. He had done so. Through Kopold he maintained contact with "the circles of generals" and called regular meetings of them in private flats. At these meetings he emphasized

the need for gaining more bourgeois officers for the Party. He stressed the need for filling responsible army posts with bourgeois experts, justifying his argument by referring to the many bourgeois experts used in all sectors of the country's economy.

Asked what aims the conspiracy was thus pursuing, Sling said: "The aim was to render impossible the creation of a new People's Democratic army, to lower the fighting value of the army, and to insure the absolute influence of the Conspiratorial Center within the army. This was to have been done by me, and in fact I did this, with the help of these bourgeois officers and generals."

In this work Sling had the assistance of "the Jewish bourgeois nationalist Reicin," whom Slansky appointed Deputy Defense Minister for that very purpose.

Questioned about his conspiratorial work with regard to the police, Sling stated that the conspiracy worked in the police along the same lines as in the army. The aim was to appoint to key positions in the National Security Corps — both in the uniformed police and the State Security Police — enemy elements such as bourgeois nationalists, Trotskyites, Zionists, collaborators, and similar types.

"Needless to say, this work, and the supervision of all these activities by the conspiracy, was centered in Slansky's hands."

Asked for names, Sling said that he appointed Karel Svab Deputy Minister of National Security, the former police general Josef Pavel another Deputy Minister of National Security, and Osvald Zavodsky Commanding Officer of State Security.

From 1945 onward, Sling continued, he worked for the appointment of people who were devoted to him and who were under his influence, that is, petty bourgeois elements and enemies of the

idea was that these people should intercept any reports about enemy activity and thereby prevent the conspiracy from being discovered.

Questioned about his subversive collaboration with other regional secretaries appointed by Slansky, Sling explained that Fuchs, Landa, Polak, and Lomsky, who were all members of the conspiracy, were posted by Slansky to the most important industrial regions. The accused knew these four from his exile in England and collaborated with them with a view to expanding and intensifying subversive work in other regions.

Together with Fuchs, and with the knowledge of Slansky and other conspirators, Sling organized the consultative meetings of the Ostrava and Brno Regions in 1948 and 1949. Similar consultations between national secretaries in the conspiracy took place in 1949 and 1950.

Sling remembered remarking, at one such meeting in September 1950, at which Fuchs, Landa, Polak, and Lomsky were present, that the conspirators had "brought about the appointment of five Jews and 'Londoners' to the posts of regional secretaries." Sling mentioned at that meeting the fact that "there might be changes in the Party leadership" and that Slansky would appoint him secretary for the Prague Region. This, however, did not happen because shortly afterwards he was arrested.

"These are the crimes I have committed: jointly with the chief of the conspiracy, Rudolf Slansky, and with the other conspirators — crimes against the Czechoslovak State, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people. The anti-State conspiracy represented the main force against People's Democratic Czechoslovakia in favor of American warmon-

gering imperialism. We conspirators were in fact tools of American war policy. Our anti-State group meant for the American imperialist warmongers the concentration of all bourgeois nationalist, Trotskyite, and similar forces, on which they could count in the event of an attack on us."

After the examination of the defendant Sling, the Presiding Judge, Dr. Novak, read the deposition of the witness Emanuel Voska. "This former industrialist, captain in the U.S. Army and 'wholesale spy,' confirmed in his deposition the fact that Geringer-Granville came to Czechoslovakia as an agent of U.S. capitalism and as a spy. He covered up this activity under the cloak of journalism. (This ended the examination of Sling.)

Prosecutor: "The next witness to be heard is the spy Vaclav Pacak, formerly a high official in the Ministry of Information. Pacak knew Sling very well indeed and closely collaborated with him in espionage. Pacak and Sling during the war gave information to Voska, which the latter handed on to the U.S. secret service."

Pacak explained that during the war he supplied information to Voska, who told him that Sling was giving him reports on the Czechoslovak Communists. He confirmed that these reports were handed on to the U.S. secret service.

"I already knew before the war that Voska was in the First World War and an agent of the U.S. intelligence service; he continued this activity."

Replying to a question as to whether he knew of other hostile activities of Sling in London, Pacak said that Sling was in touch with Belina, "another agent of Voska's. Sling and Belina, who met regularly, were in contact with officials of the British Home Office."

In 1941 Belina was "unmasked as a confidant of the British secret service; he hinted that he would not return to Czechoslovakia. He settled down in England as a professional inciter against Czechoslovakia through the medium of the BBC."

— END OF THE FIFTH DAY OF THE TRIAL —

NOVEMBER 25, 1952 — SIXTH DAY OF THE TRIAL — MORNING SESSION

At the morning session of Tuesday, November 25, the defendant Karel Svab, former Deputy Minister of National Security, was examined.

Presiding Judge: "Are you guilty in the sense of the indictment?"

Svab: "I am guilty of having protected from exposure the hostile group concentrated round Slansky."

Presiding Judge: "This is one part of your guilt. What else?"

Svab: "I am further guilty of having made possible the activities of Anglo-U.S., Yugoslav, and other hostile espionage agencies in Czechoslovakia. I have covered the wrecking activities of the Trotskyists, Zionists, bourgeois nationalists, and other hostile groups. I have undermined the security apparatus by placing, either directly or with the help of others, unreliable and hostile persons in leading positions of our security, also persons who were incapable of dealing with the enemies of the Republic. I have further undermined the security apparatus by hampering Party political work in our security system."

The Presiding Judge asked Svab whether it was true that on various occasions he had shielded the Slansky group and also carried out hostile activities against the People's Democratic regime and the Communist Party.

Svab: "This is correct. I was one of this group and together with them I carried out anti-State activities. I did so because I myself was a member of the anti-State center."

Presiding Judge: "This means that you carried out these activities as a conspirator. What led you to do this?"

Svab explained that his hostility went back to the time when he was imprisoned in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen. There he cooperated with the Nazis and was made a foreman. As a Nazi henchman, he "helped the Nazis to maintain their order by torturing my fellow prisoners and by stealing their food. For this purpose, I used all the methods learned from the Nazis." On one occasion he was instrumental in the beating of a prisoner who had taken a piece of bread. He personally beat two fellow prisoners. "They were of Russian and Ukrainian nationality." His fellow prisoners openly condemned his behavior.

When he returned as a war criminal after the war, he had expected to be punished. "This did not happen thanks to Slansky, who used my treachery for recruiting me for his anti-State center." His former fellow prisoner Jaroslav Herman had written to Slansky about Svab's crimes. Slansky did not react as one would have expected the Secretary General of the Communist Party to do. "On the contrary, in order to bind myself to him forever, he ordered me to give a written report of all my crimes."

The prosecution at this point submitted a photostat of Herman's letter to Slansky, which Svab identified. Svab's report to Slansky on his crimes in the concentration camp, dated September 20, 1945, was similarly submitted and identified. He added: "This report is in reality my written and signed pledge of my cooperation with Slansky." On the basis of this Slansky appointed him to the leading security position in the Secretariat of the Central Committee and ordered him to take instructions from himself only. Thus Slansky had a person in this position who was dependent on him and who guaranteed him that the security apparatus would work for his

hostile ends. "Our Conspiratorial Center, led by Slansky, worked for the liquidation of the People's Democratic regime in Czechoslovakia, for the implementation of the Anglo-U.S. strategic plans, and for the preparation of a new war."

From the very beginning of his job, he received reports gravely incriminating individual members of the Conspiratorial Center. "All this material I handed to Slansky and with him, I liquidated it. Furthermore, on Slansky's instructions I warned each of the incriminated individuals. I thus enabled them to continue their hostile activities."

Svab, for instance, found out that ever since 1945, Frejka concentrated around himself "members of his London group of so-called economists from the ranks of former leading personalities of capitalist cartels and other large enterprises, or direct employees of British ruling circles. "I knew that this Frejka clique not only sabotaged our economy, but also carried on espionage. I shielded this latter activity by handing all reports on it to Slansky. We disposed of them."

"Slansky knew, for instance, that Goldmann and Frejka were sabotaging the preparations and the implementation of the Two Year and Five Year Plans. We also knew that not only Frejka and Goldmann, but also Loebel was a collaborator of the U.S. spy Noel Field, who was unmasked during the trial of Rajk in Hungary. Frejka and Goldmann gave this U.S. spy important reports on the Czechoslovak economy and its planning, and Loebel information on foreign trade."

"As early as 1947 I received important evidence condemning Loebel of hostile cooperation with the imperialist agent, Ripka. In cooperation with Slansky, I destroyed this evidence and warned Loebel. We knew also that Clementis was an agent of the French secret service, the

leader of a group of bourgeois nationalists in Slovakia, and an agent of Eduard Benes. We had a letter from Ripka to Benes from which it was clear to us that Clementis had a treasonable attitude."

These and similar documents were disposed of; Slansky kept the most incriminating for himself, and the others were filed by Svab in secret archives.

Presiding Judge: "How did you learn that Clementis was an agent of the French secret service?"

Svab said that he received incriminating material on Clementis even before the February events in 1948. Later in 1950, he received "a further report, in which the author, a former employee of the French intelligence service, Jircik, proved that Clementis was a sworn agent of the French intelligence service ever since 1939."

The Presiding Judge then submitted the evidence of Vera Hloskova, "who is under arrest," according to which "the Slovak bourgeois nationalists Husak, Novomasky and Holdos maintained espionage contacts with capitalist spies. This I confirmed as early as 1948."

The Presiding Judge continued: "From this, it is apparent that in 1948, after the arrest of Jircik, you prevented the unmasking of the bourgeois Slovak nationalists in order to prevent the unmasking of Clementis, an agent of the Western imperialists. What have you to say to this?"

Svab: "I confirm the evidence of Hloskova." Because it was desired to shield this group, only a formal investigation was arranged, with the result that they remained in their positions. As a result of this, their leader, Clementis, was not unmasked; this shielded the whole Conspiratorial Center.

Svab was then asked how he covered the wrecking activities of Reicin in the army. He replied: "As far back as 1945, I received a number of important reports and documents on Reicin's hostile activities in the army. This evidence proved that Reicin was a Jewish bourgeois nationalist, who carried out deliberate wrecking activity in the army. In order to shield this member of our center and enable him to continue his activities in the interests of our Conspiratorial Center, in agreement with Slansky, I handed all this evidence directly to Reicin."

A deposition by Anna Vackova of January 22, 1950, proving this shielding of Reicin, was submitted and was confirmed by Svab. This document he also handed to Reicin. A further document incriminating Reicin, dated 1950, was submitted and identified. It was also handed to Reicin. In a similar manner Svab shielded Arthur London.

A document was then submitted, dated March 1947, and signed by Czechoslovak officer Knourek, which also incriminated Reicin. This, too, was identified by Svab.

Svab was then asked what he knew about Geminder's hostile activities. He said that it was known that Geminder maintained close contacts with the Trotskyite and Titoist agent Theodor Falk. He also was aware of the hostile activities of other members of the center: Frank, Otto Fischl, and Sling. He warned Sling himself on various occasions. He and Slansky knew about the hostile activities of other members of the center.

Asked how he and Slansky shielded the U.S. spy Noel Field, Svab said: "Field, the U.S. spy who was unmasked at the Rajk trial, said in his evidence that he maintained a widespread espi-

onage network in Czechoslovakia. As his collaborators he named the Jewish bourgeois nationalists Frejka, Goldmann, Loebl, and Hajek-Karpeles, and in Slovakia Holdos, Pavlik-Pollitzer, and others who, on his instructions, supplied him with important espionage information from all spheres of their activities."

Question: "How did you keep this evidence of Field from the courts?"

Svab: "As Slansky and I could not destroy this testimony of Field's, Slansky ordered that investigations were to be carried out in such a way as to be only a formality, and that during the investigations all members of the center were to be informed of the extent of Field's evidence, so that they could prepare their defense."

Question: "When did you learn that Noel Field was a spy?"

Svab: "I learned that in 1947 from a document submitted to me by the Zionist Stepan Placek." This letter "requested Field to cooperate in espionage." This important document was kept secret "even when Field in 1949 was unmasked as a spy."

Svab not only shielded members of the Conspiratorial Center, but also "numerous imperialist spies." The announcer then said that Svab gave details on how he covered up the espionage activities of the "Tito agent" Kirc and the "Vatican agent" Kolakovic. Svab also admitted having "prevented the unmasking of the dangerous imperialist agent Zilliacus, thus enabling him to carry on his dirty espionage activities."

The prosecutor Kolaja asked Svab what other hostile groups he shielded. Svab said that he and the center had supported "Zionist organizations and their terrorist gangs." These Zionist organizations maintained continuous con-

tact "with the imperialist agents who worked at the Israeli legation in Prague and also with the U.S. Zionist and espionage organization, the "Joint" Zionist organization. I knew from numerous reports that I received that this whole conspiratorial movement was financed by U.S. agencies, which used the Zionist organizations as one of their channels for spreading imperialist influence in the People's Democracies."

Kolaja then asked why these Zionist organizations were supported. Svab said that one of the reasons for this was that "Slansky, who led the Conspiratorial Center, is himself a Jewish bourgeois nationalist, and a large number of other members of our center are also Jewish bourgeois nationalists, or even straight Zionists. The main reason for our support, however, was that the Zionist formed the most reliable imperialist agency, which gave Slansky the best opportunity for maintaining his link with the imperialist West.

"The anti-State center's preparations for the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia made use of Tito's experiences and relied on a group of Trotskyites and other renegades who had been exposed before the war. Slansky knew the hostile character of these elements very well, and from May 1945 he made their reentry into the Party possible under the slogan 'come back, all is forgiven.' I helped him in this.

"Slansky particularly relied on a well organized Trotskyite group led by Josef Pavel, Osvald Zavodsky, and the spy London. Another group of Trotskyites who had been expelled before the war from the Communist Party operated inside the Social Democrat Party. This group was led by the Trotskyite Vilim and its task was to break up the close cooperation between the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party.

"This policy of cooperation with Trotskyite elements within the Social Democratic Party was carried out by Slansky in accordance with directives issued by British imperialist agents concealed in leading positions of the English Labor Party, led by Konni Zilliacus and Hill, aiming at making the Social Democratic Party part of the anti-Soviet bloc."

Slansky transferred Svab from the Party Secretariat to the National Security Sector after the conspirators had consolidated their positions in the Secretariat. Slansky had full confidence in Svab and, therefore, entrusted him with this new task. "Particularly, full support in undermining the National Security Corps was given by a group of Trotskyites who were former volunteers of the International Brigade in Spain. Ever since 1945 Slansky systematically placed these people in the security sector with the aid of Josef Pavel and Osvald Zavodsky, the leaders of this group.

"Other members of this group included Oskar Vales and others, and I covered up their hostile activities by concealing in 1950 and after the proof of their activities, including material incriminating Pavel, Vales, Zavodsky, whom I informed of the reports of his hostile activities, and a number of others. By concealing this incriminating evidence, I enabled all these enemies to continue in their positions and in their subversive activities."

Presiding Judge: "Tell us what particular danger was caused by the activities of the anti-State center in case of an attack against the Czechoslovak Republic."

Svab: "In case of an attack against our Republic by the imperialist West the anti-State center represented a danger insofar as we would have acted as a fifth column to the detriment

of the Republic's defense potential, thus facilitating the realization of the imperialist's aggressive plans.

"Rudolf Slansky realized very well the importance and significance of the security sector, and therefore devoted great care to making it subject to the interests of the anti-State center. At the right moment his would have enabled him to become a dictator like the U.S.-British agent, Tito; to undo the development of Socialism in Czechoslovakia; to dissociate the Republic from the USSR and the camp of peace.

"In spite of our concentrated effort we failed to get the security sector completely into our hands and to remove its honest members who were devoted to the interests of the Czechoslovak people, the Communist Party, and Gottwald, and who step by step exposed our hostile activity and upset our plans." (This concluded the examination of Svab.)

The first witness against Svab was Osvald Zavodsky, the former Commander of Internal Security, who described Svab as "devoted to Slansky" and who had worked for him in the Central Party Secretariat and in the Ministry of National Security.

According to Zavodsky, Svab also covered up the activities of the Slovak bourgeois nationalists during the examination of Vera Hloskova whose depositions had pointed out the danger of Slovak bourgeois nationalism. "Both Slansky and Pavel were aware of this." It concerned Slovaks such as Husak, Novomesky, and Holdos. Even though this matter was directly connected with national security, Svab insisted on personally examining those concerned and, therefore, nothing was done with regard to the Slovak officials concerned.

This was particularly so in the case of Clementis. Acting on direct orders from Slansky, Svab

concealed all evidence incriminating Clementis, even though both Slansky and Svab knew in 1949 that Clementis was a spy. The same procedure was applied in the case of Dr. Vazna, the common law wife of Lt. Col. Ivo Milen. This woman was under suspicion of being in contact with a certain Trotskyite, of being an agent of the British intelligence service, and of maintaining contacts abroad through the Trotskyite mentioned above. Svab also suppressed material given in evidence by Loebel, Picher, and others.

Zavodsky stated that Svab also acted similarly with regard to incriminating reports affecting Sling which began to come in, in 1949. Both Slansky and Svab knew that "Sling opposed the working class and the policy of the Communist Party." Svab used to describe all information regarding Sling as unimportant, saying that it "affected only Slings' behavior under the occupation and as an emigre in England." After Sling's arrest, Svab kept Slansky informed of the progress of the investigation, and Slansky gave orders that his own activities should not be unmasked in the course of Sling's examination. Svab also did his utmost to cover London.

"During the investigation of the American spy Noel Field it was definitely established that the relationship between London and Field consisted mainly of espionage. This incontrovertible fact was known to Slansky, who had been informed by Svab. Yet no orders were given for action against London." (This ended the testimony of Lavodsky.)

The next witness against Svab was Vera Hloskova, who, according to the Prosecutor, was previously convicted as an agent of the British intelligence service. She spoke of her connections with the Slovak bourgeois nationalists led by Clementis. Svab had suppressed her evidence,

thus sabotaging investigations directed against Clementis.

The Presiding Judge read out a deposition by Anna Vackova, an employee of the Ministry of National Security, who stated that she had told Svab of Reicin's activities in the Ministry of National Defense, where she had been previously employed. Instead of acting on this information, Svab had passed it on to Reicin.

The next witness was Oskar Valasek, formerly called Weiss, the former Security Officer of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party. "This bourgeois nationalist carried out activity in accordance with Svab's directions, and his task consisted of posting hostile elements in key positions in Slovakia and of concealing all evidence of the connection between Rajk's gang in Hungary and Slansky's band."

NOVEMBER 25, 1952 — AFTERNOON SESSION

Reicin's examination began with a statement on his early education, which was carried out in a "bourgeois and religious spirit, in a Zionist Boy Scout organization." In 1926 he joined the Komsomol, burdened by "harmful characteristics and a hostile attitude toward the working class." Presiding Judge: "Do you plead guilty in accordance with the indictment, and are you guilty of the crimes detailed therein?"

Reicin: "Yes."

At the beginning Reicin appeared to be suffering from emotional stress and spoke slowly; later his speech sounded more controlled.

According to Reicin, his betrayal of the working class movement and of the Czechoslovak people started in the autumn of 1938 after the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Communist Party by "the agrarian and reactionary Benes clique. In

these decisive and difficult times, my political and moral decomposition became evident."

After his arrest by the Prague Gestapo in April 1939, the Germans "made use of my cowardice and gradually I became a collaborator of the fascist Gestapo, betraying my knowledge of the Party and its officials."

The Gestapo examined Reicin as regards the affairs and leadership of the federation of proletarian physical training, as he was the Sports Editor of RUDE PRAVO. The Presiding Judge mentioned a deposition by an unnamed witness, who was Reicin's cellmate in 1939 and who stated that Reicin wrote a report for the Gestapo in his cell. Reicin confirmed this. He said that the Gestapo Commissioner Elbers asked him to give details about the working class physical training movement. In this report Reicin named Josef Trousil and Josef Matejka, among other leaders of the Federation of Proletarian Physical Training.

"My examination by the Gestapo led to the exposure of the underground Party Central Committee and its leading officials." Reicin gave information about Party officials of the Central Secretariat, the Komsomol Central Committee, and the first Party region, together with reports on the editorial staff of the Communist Party press, particularly of RUDE PRAVO and HALO NOVINY, and on officials linking the Party with the Comintern.

Reicin named the following Communist leaders whom he betrayed to the Gestapo: Jan Zika, Jan Festuka, also known as Rolny, Ota Synek, Josef Hruby, Rudolf Richter, Jan Sverma, Eduard Urx, Jan Krejci, Julius Fucik, Kurt Konrad, whose real name was Beer, Stainislav Brunclik, Vratislav Santroch, and many others. Reicin also told the

Gestapo about printing presses used by the Party for the production of illegal pamphlets.

"My treason, my shameful treason helped the Gestapo in its extermination campaign against the Czechoslovak Communist Party, for my statements enabled it to effect the physical liquidation of those whom it betrayed." Synek, Urx, Zika, Festuka, Fucik, Krejci, Konrad, Santroch, Brunclik, and Kren all paid with their lives.

In reply to the prosecutor's remark that he betrayed the national hero, Fucik, Reicin admitted that he furnished the Gestapo with reports about Fucik after his own release from prison.

He also betrayed his contacts with the Party leadership through a bookshop in Prague where the Gestapo then placed its own agent Freisleben. This Gestapo agent confirmed Reicin's guilt, according to a statement in the hands of the prosecution.

"In view of my betrayal and my cowardice the Gestapo regarded me as a willing instrument and released me on condition of my further collaboration. Elbers also knew that I had the opportunity of emigrating to the USSR, as I informed him of this. The Gestapo wanted to make use of this opportunity and to send me as its agent to the USSR. I accepted this proposal of the Gestapo. In my selfish desire to get out of prison at any cost, I stooped even to this shameful betrayal and signed an undertaking for Elbers pledging my future cooperation with the Gestapo."

After his release on October 14, 1939, acting in accordance with Gestapo instructions, Reicin tried to gain the confidence of the Party in order to insure his own dispatch to the USSR. He furnished reports on his contacts with Oldrich Hlas, Brunclik, and Fucik and, in December 1939, a member of the Underground Central Committee,

Vaclav Kren, instructed him to abstain from further Party activities, as he had become known to the Gestapo.

All this Reicin betrayed to Elbers, who told him to obey these instructions in order to retain the Party's confidence, which would enable Reicin "to go to the USSR and to work against the emigre leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party."

The prosecution then produced four letters written by Fucik mentioning Fucik's contacts with Reicin and Reicin's own postwar declaration affirming his wartime contacts with Fucik.

Prosecutor: "Tell us how the German fascists enabled you to go to the USSR."

Reicin: "In view of my tasks in the USSR, the Gestapo passed me on to a higher authority in the Sicherheitsdienst at the beginning of 1940. I was given an emigration passport to China via the USSR. "After the discussion of my tasks in the USSR, I left Prague on October 13, 1940, openly via Berlin, Koenigsberg, and Vilna for Moscow."

Prosecutor: "How did you fulfill the instructions given you by the German fascists, after you arrived in the USSR?"

Reicin: "On my arrival in Moscow I reported to the emigre leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, but I kept silent about my betrayal and my Gestapo tasks."

Reicin was placed in a home for political emigres near Moscow, and at the beginning of 1941 Slansky asked him to cooperate temporarily in the Czechoslovak transmissions of Radio Moscow. In February 1942 Reicin joined the Czechoslovak Army in the USSR and at the beginning of 1945 he became head of military intelligence in the First Czechoslovak Corps.

After the liberation he became chief of Czechoslovak military intelligence and later Deputy Minister of National Defense. "I recruited cadres from the ranks of old bourgeois officers of the pre-Munich Army and its intelligence service — bourgeois nationalists and other unreliable elements on whom I relied in my later hostile activities.

"The American spies Col. Woldike and Col. Koenig, and their British colleague, Col. Mullens received important information owing to my activities. This information contained reports on the state of the Czechoslovak Army at that time."

The Prosecutor then presented photostatic copies of documents from the secret archives of the general staff which "prove that information about the Army was given to the Anglo-U.S. spies." Reicin recognized the validity of these documents.

Reicin's espionage activities were aided by Gen. Bocek, former chief of the General Staff and Gen. Rasla.

Announcer: "Reicin then told how he established contact with U.S.-British spies and how he supplied them with espionage reports." Reicin said: "I know that the French military attache in Prague also approached Gen. Bocek for espionage information.

"My espionage activities for the American espionage service and its British and French branches also took other forms. As chief of the military intelligence, I instructed the permit section of my department to issue permits to foreign subjects for visits to Czechoslovak industrial enterprises, including factories which should have been barred to foreigners. I also agreed to visits by representatives of Western capitalist armies to Czechoslovak military training establishments

and special units. On these occasions these Western spies, covered by diplomatic office, learned of facts which should have been kept secret.

"Acting on instructions issued by Gen. Bocek, Gen. Marko, in charge of signals, accompanied an English officer on a tour of signal units and informed him of the progress of training, organization, fighting preparedness, and other circumstances affecting these units. During these visits, Gen. Marko told the Englishman about top secret matters affecting the Czechoslovak army, its internal organization, conditions, and so on. In Benesov he even acquainted him with all the officers of the unit and particularly pointed out to him the intelligence officer whom he described surreptitiously as: 'This is our intelligence spy.' Gen. Bocek and I talked this over, but we took no action against Gen. Marko for in effect he only did the same thing as we were doing."

Reicin covered up the activities of officers "who had been caught in the act of espionage and recruited them for further services for American and British espionage." He supported officers who opposed the application of Soviet methods in the Army, and "the whole reactionary gang was under the protection of Benes, the agent of the U.S. imperialists. He issued orders prohibiting action against officers who had espionage connections with representatives of the American or other Western armies. "Dr. Benes gave open instructions prohibiting action against reactionary pro-Western officers who, together with representatives of the American Army and other Western capitalist armies, carried on hostile activities in the Czechoslovak Army and undermined the defense of the people's democratic order. Benes himself approved and aided the

hostile activities of Western espionage agencies in Czechoslovakia.

"In 1947 I personally took part in a military conference with Benes in the 'castle' when I presented a report on the state of the Czechoslovak Army from the point of view of military intelligence. This report contained definite information about the subversive activities of high Czechoslovak officers connected with Anglo-U.S. spies, about their relations with Western spies, and so on. On that occasion Dr. Benes gave us his hostile instructions. He opposed action carried out against espionage in the Czechoslovak Army in the interests of the Americans and their Allies."

Prosecutor: "This means that Benes, in agreement with the interest of the Anglo-U.S. imperialists and you and your clique of bourgeois officers, prepared in the Army the conditions for the creation of a fifth column?"

Reicin: "Yes. Benes worked systematically from 1945 against the implementation of the Kosice program on the cleaning up of the Army leadership." He tried to preserve the pre-Munich personnel. "Through us, his collaborators in the Army, he packed the command of the Army with reactionary, Western-minded officers. They included for instance the anti-Soviet spy Gen. Pika who maintained close confidential relations with the head of the intelligence service in Prague, Col. Harold Gibson, and with the well-known British spy, Gen. Gill.

"Others were Gen. Antonin Hasal, who after February 1948 escaped with the help of U.S. Ambassador Steinhardt; Gen. Alois Liska, who maintained contact with British diplomats in Czechoslovakia and who also escaped after the February events; and Gen. Karel Janousek, who also maintained contact with British diplomats

and a number of other enemies of the people's democratic regime.

"At the beginning of 1948 when the reactionaries stepped up their attacks on the people's democratic regime, Dr. Benes told Generals Hasal and Pika to prepare for him a list of reliable — that is reliable to him — generals whom he would place into the most important positions in the Czechoslovak Army."

The Prosecutor then said that the fact that Benes had so openly spoken in front of Reicin proved that he had enjoyed Benes' confidence.

Reicin: "This is so. At this secret conference Benes really expressed openly his anti-Soviet and pro-Western tendencies. He did so because he trusted me and relied on me, as he did on Gen. Bocek. In this way my whole shameful past brought me not only into close relations with Dr. Benes and his lackeys, but also into the anti-State plot led by Slansky."

Reicin informed Slansky of his secret negotiations with Benes in all details. After 1945 he had kept Slansky informed on the conspiracy within the Czechoslovak Army.

"I did not keep secret from him my hostile activities and my connections with the other leading personalities of the Army belonging to the Benes clique." Slansky was thus kept informed of the hostile and anti-democratic line of the Army command which was a tool of Benes from the very beginning of the building of the Army.

Prosecutor: "When did you become a member of Slansky's Conspiratorial Center?"

Reicin: "It began at the end of 1945 or the beginning of 1946 when on the occasion of my visiting the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Slansky told me

that he knew of my treasonable activities in the Gestapo in 1939.

"This was a shock to me and I expected an investigation into the matter, but this did not happen. On the contrary, Slansky began to be considerate toward me. He furthered my career even more than before and in this and other ways he tried to make our relations closer. I recognized in Slansky my saviour and protector and I began to accept his line fully. In this way Slansky bound me to him."

Question: "Your treacherous character led you to be simultaneously in contact with the Benes clique and with the Slansky gang. Is this so?"

Reicin: "This is so. Slansky tied me more and more to his own person by supporting my criminal and sabotage affairs in connection with the hostile army command. Slansky did so particularly by agreeing with our granting of espionage facilities and machinations of Anglo-U.S. agents among the ranks of Czechoslovak officers and foreign diplomats. Slansky also knew of the espionage activities which were carried out by his clique in the Army command against the Soviet Union and the people's democratic countries. I had no secrets from Slansky as regards questions of hostile activities within the Czechoslovak Army.

"My conversation with Slansky which took place in August 1948 was particularly characteristic; that is, when Slansky invited me to his office in the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.

"On this occasion Slansky said to me expressly that it was his wish that I should become Deputy to the Minister of National Defense, with responsibility for cadre matters. Slansky told me that he supported my candidature so that I should direct the cadre activities in the Czech-

oslovak Army in conformity with the previous line of procedure. He asked me to ask for his advice in all questions and directed me to continue my disruptive activities in the Czechoslovak Army. I agreed with this."

Asked about the important positions held by his group in the Army, Reicin declared: "Slansky, in cooperation with me, and the bourgeois clique in the Army command to which belonged the Chief of Staff Gen. Bocek, Gen. Zdenek Novak, and a number of others, ruled over the basic key positions in the Czechoslovak Army. This fifth column, linked with a number of other bourgeois nationalist, Zionist, and other hostile elements, hampered the building up of the Czechoslovak Army in all respects. This happened up to February 1948."

After February 1948, "Slansky installed further criminal cadres in important army posts in order to attain a further safeguarding of leading posts in the army and to establish a 100 percent rule over them."

In conformity with directives issued by Slansky, Sling, and another member of the center of plotters, acting along the same lines, hostile bourgeois cadres which had not been entirely compromised up to February 1948, by obvious reactionary activities were left in the Army even after the February purge. They were promoted and thus enabled to continue the hampering and sabotaging of the building up of the Czechoslovak Army from the posts in which we had placed them."

Reicin admitted that "only a formal purge had taken place in the Army in 1948, and it was advantageous to Slansky and the bourgeois leadership that many enemies remained in their Army posts."

As an associate of Slansky, Reicin settled cadre questions concerning the Czechoslovak officers corps in conformity with the requirements of the gang. That is why Slansky had decided on pushing Reicin into the post of Deputy Minister of National Defense responsible for cadre matters. Thus decisions on cadre matters were concentrated in Reicin's hands. In addition Reicin deliberately and systematically sabotaged the implementation of the Kosice Government program concerning the Army. Reicin also sabotaged the training of the Czechoslovak Army and weakened its defense capability.

Speaking about the cooperation and the espionage contacts of the Slansky center with the Titoist, Reicin admitted that, for the sake of the implementation of the conspirator's plans for the restoration of capitalism in Czechoslovakia, "the members of the center employed the same methods as the criminal, traitorous Tito gang in Yugoslavia."

"Our disruptive and hostile activities in Czechoslovakia are on the lines of the traitor Tito and his gang in Yugoslavia. Slansky and I were in contact with Titoist agents in Czechoslovakia, who were in the service of U.S. espionage agencies, and in conformity with the directives received from these agencies built up a hostile network in Czechoslovakia."

"I established direct contacts with Yugoslav agents at the end of 1945 on the occasion of the official visit to my office of the Yugoslav military attache in Prague, Col. Ivanovic. Col. Ivanovic told me on this occasion that the Yugoslav intelligence service was well acquainted with my cooperation with the Gestapo during the Occupation period. He said that I would certainly understand what the betrayal of this fact would mean to me."

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"Then Ivanovic declared that I must cooperate with the Yugoslav espionage service in Czechoslovakia. I entered into this cooperation in view of the fact that the Yugoslavs knew of my traitorous cooperation with the Gestapo. I was thus forced to cooperate with them.

"In the course of negotiations with Col. Ivanovic I fully realized that he was sent to Czechoslovakia not as an ally, but as an enemy. In a further conversation Col. Ivanovic said that Czechoslovakia was not the only country in which Americans were interested through the medium of their Yugoslav helpers. He declared that the same methods of work were also applied in Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland."

"I confirm that the Titoists were not only given very important secret military information even after the publication of the Cominform resolution by leading personages in the Ministry of National Defense, but were also given permission for military deliveries to Yugoslavia.

"At the beginning of 1946 I provided information to Col. Ivanovic on the secret files of K. H. Frank in Stechovice, which was later seized by the Americans. I thus enabled the Americans to get hold of these files. When I learned in January 1946 of the hidden files of K. H. Frank in Stechovice and read the appropriate report, which also contained detailed information on the place where the files were hidden, I informed Col. Ivanovic and, following his order, I stopped the recovery of these files.

"Thus the files fell into the hands of the Americans. The day after the Americans had got hold of the files, Col. Ivanovic told me that everything that happened with the files was in order. This instance, as well as a number of events which took place at a later date, convinced me that the Yugoslav intelligence service

was closely cooperating with the U.S. counterpart in Czechoslovakia, too, and pursuing the same aims.

"In order to mask my criminal betrayal of the information concerning the files, I blocked the investigation on the removal of the files. We falsified the results of the investigation that was conducted. These reports were handed to Government officials. By committing this crime against the interests of the Czechoslovak working people I made it impossible to unmask and to eliminate all the traitors and agents of the fascist Gestapo, whose names were contained in a register hidden in Stechovice. I am thus responsible for the fact that these lists fell into the hands of the U.S. imperialists.

"In 1945 and 1946 I kept up contacts with the Yugoslav legation Counsellor Novosel, who was later unmasked as a spy in the Rajk trial in Hungary. I realized in 1946 that Novosel was engaged in espionage activities directed against Czechoslovakia and that he was building up an intelligence network.

"After the departure of Col. Ivanovic at the end of 1947, I continued to cooperate as regards espionage with his successor as military attache, Col. Ristic. I enabled Ristic to establish contacts with associates of mine. I sent Ristic to Slansky to discuss political questions of the Czechoslovak Army. Slansky conducted negotiations with Ristic. They discussed important questions concerning the Czechoslovak Army.

"Slansky, who at that time already knew of the disclosure of the treason committed by Tito and his clique in Yugoslavia, warned me at a later date to be careful in my relations with Yugoslavs. In our hostile disruptive activities, Slansky and I cooperated with Titoist agents in Czechoslovakia, and applied the same methods

and pursued the same aims as Tito and his clique in Yugoslavia." (This ended the examination of Reicin.)

After the completion of Reicin's hearing court was adjourned, and when the session was resumed witnesses were heard.

The first witness was Gustav Freisleben, a Gestapo informer who is now serving a term of imprisonment. He told the court how he learned from the Gestapo man Friedrich of Reicin's activities as a Gestapo informer. According to this witness Reicin betrayed to the Gestapo all the members of the underground Central Committee of the Communist Party, as well as the location of underground printing offices. He also confirmed that he made a deposition on Reicin's activities in 1947, but that this information was suppressed by Svab, another member of the conspiracy.

Another witness, Vladimir Horsky, informed the court of the revenge taken by Reicin and other members of the gang against those who were in a position to uncover their espionage activities. In 1945 this witness made a statement on the espionage contacts with the Titoist spy Novosel. He was exposed to persecution by Svab and silenced by him.

The next witness, Vilem Novy, former editor of RUDE PRAVO, was then heard, as a member of the gang of plotters. He revealed Sling's contacts with Anglo-U.S. agents and the method employed by Loeb1 for the passing of detailed espionage information to Field.

Simon Orenstein, the next witness, was formerly in charge of the Trade Department of the Israeli Legation in Prague. He disclosed the true face and the essence of Zionist organizations, which are dangerous agencies of the U.S. imperialists. At secret negotiations conducted in

Washington, the state of Israel is entirely subordinate to the war preparations of the U.S. monopolists. Israel is the center from which all Zionist organizations throughout the world are being directed.

The witness confirmed that the Zionist organizations in Czechoslovakia, which were supported by Slansky and his associates, contrary to the wishes of the Czechoslovak people, also display dangerous espionage and disruptive activities in Czechoslovakia.

The Presiding Judge then announced that Gusta Fucikova had volunteered to act as a witness. She declared that her late husband was given the task of conducting the struggle against the Nazi invaders within Czechoslovakia. The underground Central Committee of the Communist Party entrusted him with the organization of the Communist press and the antifascist struggle in general. He was the editor of a number of underground Communist Party publications and was responsible for the issue of a great number of leaflets. In addition he organized sabotage activities throughout the country.

She knew that Fucik kept up contacts with members of the RUDE PRAVO editorial staff, but that he had also come into contact with Reicin. She knew that Reicin was acquainted with all these men. It was Reicin's Party task to make use of the legal facilities of the press for the underground activities of the Communist Party. This is the reason why he also came into contact with Fucik. Reicin used to visit Fucik in his apartment; they shared food and Reicin received money. Reicin slept in an apartment in which Fucik was hiding.

After reading the indictment the witness analyzed in her mind Reicin's activities during the Occupation period. "This analysis," she said,

“gives me every right to suspect Reicin of having betrayed to the Gestapo the members of the RUDE PRAVO staff, as well as Julius Fucik himself.”

Reicin visited Fucik at a hiding place in Plzen. Some time later the Gestapo searched this place. Reicin visited Fucik in a number of other places, and afterwards the Gestapo always turned up to arrest Fucik. When Fucik's apartment in Prague was searched, he escaped only through his foresight. A ciphered letter received from Fucik by Gusta Fucikova at that time informed her of the arrest of the members of the RUDE PRAVO editorial staff.

“I realize that these comrades came into contact with Reicin. In addition I realize that all these things happened at the time when Reicin was released by the Gestapo. On the basis of all these facts I am firmly convinced that Reicin betrayed Fucik to the Gestapo and that he was instrumental in the arrest of the members of the RUDE PRAVO editorial staff.”

— END OF THE SIXTH DAY OF THE TRIAL —

NOVEMBER 26, 1952 — SEVENTH DAY OF THE TRIAL — MORNING SESSION

The State court resumed the trial and heard experts on planning, foreign trade and finance.

The report prepared by a commission of planning experts was made by Joseph Pucik, Chairman of the State Planning Office. This report shows the tremendous sabotage activities carried out by the plotters. They chiefly concentrated on sabotage of the fundamental concept of the Five Year Plan, which aimed at making the Republic independent of the import of raw materials from the capitalist countries.

“The plotters, particularly the British spy Frejka, contrary to the original concept, planned a decreased output of iron ores of nine percent in 1948, as compared to 1943, although the planned increased production of iron would have required an increased output of iron ores. Even some iron ore mines as, for instance, near Sternberk, were liquidated. The mining of ores of nonferrous metals was not planned at all. Geological prospecting was neither planned nor extended.

“The saboteurs planned the subordination of the Republic to the capitalist countries in the sphere of the chemical industry as well. For instance, the increased output of synthetic fuel from coal was planned in the Five Year Plan on the basis of only 29 percent, although the capacity of the chief branch of the Stalin works facilitated an increase in the output of synthetic fuel by 115 percent after five years.

“The plotters also systematically sabotaged the country's cooperation with the People's Democracies and the USSR. Instead of extending the foundation of thin tinplate was stepped up. As a consequence of this procedure, it proved

impossible to secure the production of decisive installations for the heavy industry.

"The building of Socialism was, in addition, hampered by a wrong allocation of investments and an unhealthy dissipation of investment means. The construction of factories producing synthetic rubber was planned unsatisfactorily. The construction of an aluminum factory was not planned, although such an investment would have freed Czechoslovakia from dependence on the capitalist countries. On the other hand, new tire, textile and footwear factories, as well as tanneries, were built unnecessarily. This was so although the production capacity of existing factories was not fully utilized, and could have gone on for a number of years.

"The criminal concept of the dissipation of investment means expressed itself most strikingly in the sphere of power production. For instance, the putting into operation of the power station in Slapy was delayed by two years. The delay in the completion of this power station by one single day meant the loss of two train loads of coal. Under the pretext of reconstruction, factories suitable for production, as, for instance, the blast furnaces in Trinec and Kladno, lay idle.

"All these acts of sabotage were facilitated by the separation of planning from the directing of economic life. The Government had no say in matters of detailed parts of the plan. The utilization of Soviet experience in planning in Czechoslovakia was consistently hampered, because the application of Soviet experience would have revealed all sabotage in the sphere of planning. Finally, the activities of the anti-State plotters caused damage amounting to many billions in the planning sector alone."

The second expert report was presented to the court by Jan Soucek, Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade. "This report," prepared by a foreign trade experts commission, "showed in great detail how it was the intention of the accused to subordinate Czechoslovakia's economy to the capitalist countries, particularly to the imperialist United States of America. For this purpose they prepared and carried out a plan of the so-called dollar offensive.

"In the course of this campaign, the plotters intensified the export of products of the textile, leather, rubber, and light metal industries, which themselves had to be supplied with raw materials imported from capitalist countries. It was the aim of this campaign "to support the world capitalist movement of the Zionists."

"In the same way the saboteurs paid the U.S. imperialists for machinery and installations, although they knew the United States would refuse delivery since it was engaged in a policy of discrimination against the peoples' democracies. Up to the present day the imperialists are withholding the delivery of machinery and installations paid for by Czechoslovakia. The amount in question is 956,000,950 kcs.

"Another piece of sabotage was the conclusion of the agreement on the payment of compensations to foreign capitalists for nationalized property. In all instances in question, hostile capitalists abroad were, contrary to law, paid compensation exceeding 63 million kcs.

"The criminal plotters also promoted the export of great quantities of rolled material to capitalist countries at unfavorable prices. The criminal character of such a procedure is also evident from the fact that the export of such important goods was only possible at the expense of deliveries to friendly countries.

“The export of grain to capitalist countries at the end of 1950 was likewise a criminal act of the plotters, for at the time in question, the country was facing serious bread and flour supply problems.

“The sabotaging of deliveries to People’s Democratic countries is best illustrated by the fact that installations for a cement factory and a power station, as well as other important machinery were not delivered to Poland within the time limit. Thus the Polish economy had to suffer.

“On the other hand, the plotters were so generous with exports to capitalist countries that in a number of cases goods were exported at a lower price than that of raw materials required for their production. Friendly countries had, on the other hand, to pay prices which were up to twice as high.

“Similar sabotage activities were carried out in the sphere of granting scientific and technical assistance to friendly countries. The experts’ commission arrived at the conclusion that the damage amounting to many billions of kcs. was caused to the Czechoslovak economy from 1949 to 1951 as a result of insufficient price documentation in the sphere of imports from and exports to capitalist countries.

“The plans of the saboteurs were foiled to a considerable extent by the conclusion of long-term trade agreements with the USSR and the People’s Democracies for 1951 to 1955. These agreements reduced the dependence of Czechoslovakia’s economy on the capitalist countries so that the building up of Socialism in Czechoslovakia cannot be endangered.”

The report prepared by the commission of finance experts was presented to the Court by Josef Cekal, deputy of the head of the Control

Department of the State Bank. “It shows that the Slansky gang carried out large-scale and deliberate sabotage activities in the sphere of finance, aiming at the support of capitalist elements both in Czechoslovakia and abroad.

“A great variety of the most cunning means were employed to this end. The Restitution Act, legal regulations concerning the payment of compensation for nationalized property, tax and currency regulations to the advantages of capitalists, and others were abused or bypassed.

The National Administration of Property was under the rule of Zionist elements and arranged the unlawful restitution of tremendous amounts of property to both Czechoslovak and foreign capitalists. “With the assistance of the criminal Zionist, Dr. Fischl, who is one of the accused, property worth at least 6 billion kcs. was restituted. Contrary to law, enormous amounts of property of capitalists, who had gained it by exploiting the Czechoslovak people, were taken out of the country during the emigration of persons of Jewish nationality.

The hostile sabotage activities in the sphere of finance also manifested themselves in the assisting and covering of a variety of tax and currency frauds, speculators, and black marketers. Thus, for instance, the Czechoslovak State suffered damage amounting to 70 million kcs. as a result of the export of property and of a tax fraud arranged by Pachel, the former owner of Rupa.

Fischl also ordered that all legal proceedings, as well as measures to enforce the payment of taxes and fines, be stopped in the case of big capitalists, Anders, the former owners of ASO. Fischl cunningly masked all these transactions and tried to give the impression of being a strict and consistent guardian of State interests.

“For instance, he harshly treated poor Jewish emigrants in order to give his support, on the other hand, to unlawful deeds of capitalists leaving Czechoslovakia. All sabotage deeds caused material damage to the Republic amounting to 8 billion kcs.”

Following the reports of the commissions of experts, Dr. Urvalek, Chief Prosecutor, made a statement. He started by saying that “our People’s Democratic court has so far never dealt with a case of criminals like those who today are in the dock. Day by day the Czechoslovak people have witnessed a chain of treason without parallel in the country’s history. The hearts of the working people are filled with deepest indignation and just anger. The accused tried to abuse the Communist Party and sold the country’s interests to the Western imperialists.

They undermined Czechoslovakia’s friendly relations with the USSR endangering the country’s freedom. They deliberately caused damage to the country’s economy amounting to many billions of kcs. The Czechoslovak Army was made incapable of dealing with aggression. Espionage agencies were set up in the Ministries, and an attempt was made to make the security apparatus an instrument of their plans.

“All this was done with the sole aim of introducing in our country a Tito-fascist regime with all its consequences, restoring capitalism, of handing our homeland once more to the imperialists as their colony and transforming her into a base for the war against the Soviet Union and the People’s Democratic countries which is now being prepared.

“This trial has enabled the Czechoslovak people not only to see the moral baseness of the accused in its full nakedness, but also to realize the full extent of the danger that threatened

the country as a result of the criminal activities of the accused. It has also become clear that many obstacles and difficulties which one thought were just accompanying the development toward Socialism, were, in fact, the outcome of the deliberate disrupting activities of the accused.

“The accused are, above all, so dangerous because the entire center of plotters, with its sabotage, espionage and treasonable activities, is closely linked with the intensified war preparations of the U.S. imperialists, and it has aided the crusade of the imperialists against world peace. In the pay of the U.S. imperialists the plotters were ready to carry out any order that might be given to them.

“The trial has shown what sort of methods are being employed by the imperialists for the recruitment of their agents and what sort of people are being enlisted. It is in this respect that the trial is of great international significance.

“The plotters’ center was born in Brno in the course of the Second World War, and in close connection with the aims of enslavement pursued by the Western imperialists during the war. The imperialists planned and prepared an entirely different development and result of the war than that which materialized in the end. They failed to destroy the Soviet Union with Hitler’s help. In vain they delayed the opening of the second front in the hope that the Soviet Union would bleed itself to death.

“Stalin’s predictions on the final outcome of a Second World War proved right in every respect. The Soviet Union defeated both Germany and Japan and its economic, military, and political power, as well as its moral authority, grew considerably.

LIBRARY

"As a result of the Soviet victory, Governments representing the bourgeoisie and the owners of big estates were liquidated in many parts of the world, including Czechoslovakia. The imperialists, however, did not give up their criminal intentions for the restoration of their rule over the countries in which the people themselves had taken power into their hands.

"The imperialists, above all, did not scrap their old criminal plan of destroying the Soviet Union, the very existence of which and whose successful reconstruction filled them with horror. The U.S. imperialists, these successors to Hitler, made the greatest possible efforts to prevent their own extermination. They employed the most barbarous means of enslaving nations which, up to now, were free and prepared a new war.

"During the Second World War the Anglo-American imperialists financed a number of reactionary emigre Governments and employed them as their agencies. It was their intention to use these Governments for the restoration of their power positions after Germany's defeat. The liberated countries were to be ruled by the bourgeoisie and used as assembly grounds for an aggressive war against the Soviet Union.

"In Czechoslovakia this task was allocated to a clique led by Benes, an old agent of the West, and his associates, Ripka, Lausman, Sramek, and others. This explains why these persons in London were given money that was at the time promised to the Republic as a miserable compensation for the Munich betrayal. Out of this so-called Munich fund, benefits were paid to emigres in the West.

"After the liberation the Benes agency occupied prominent positions in the Republic. This agency acted under the direction of Western dip-

lomats, above all U.S. Ambassador Steinhardt, as was proved in the trial of Horakova and associates.

"In the course of 1947 and 1948 these open agencies of the imperialists were unmasked. This happened in Czechoslovakia in February 1948 when an attempt at a counterrevolutionary putsch was liquidated and the representatives of the Western imperialists were driven from their positions.

"Thus the first agency, consisting of the most reactionary bourgeois nationalist and fascist elements, was smashed. Experience has shown, however, that the imperialists were playing another false card in their base juggling with the fate of the people of the countries liberated by the Soviet Army.

"The Cominform resolutions of 1948 and 1949 fully revealed the betrayal of the Tito clique in Yugoslavia. The case of Yugoslavia has shown in every respect how dangerous this juggling of the imperialists is. The Cominform resolution has shown that the bourgeoisie continued its long established practice of recruiting spies and provocateurs within the party of the working class.

"By these methods the imperialists endeavored to disrupt the Party from inside. They attempted to use the same methods as they did in the case of Tito's Yugoslavia. The Titoist clique, which, according to the imperialist plans, was to cover the left flank in case of an attack against the USSR, was in time unmasked, thanks to the historical experiences of the Soviet Communist Party.

"However, the cunning imperialist plans were not confined to Yugoslavia. In other countries, too, which had been liberated by the victorious Soviet forces, the imperialists instructed their

agents to recruit spies, informers and traitors inside the Communist Parties.

"Thanks to the vigilance of the working population and the Communist Parties, the treacherous gangs of Rajk, Kostov, and others were in time unmasked. All these traitors were to turn their countries into imperialist military bases in case of war against the USSR. The trials of these Western agents proved that the imperialists began laying their plans against the Soviet Union at the very beginning of the Second World War.

"In addition to their usual spies and agents, the imperialists created a "second reserve, planted inside the Communist and Workers Parties." These second reserves became particularly active when the Western imperialists started their frontal attack against the camp of peace, with the help of diversionists and murderers, paid out of the 100 million dollars voted by the U.S. Congress at Truman's request.

"It would have been surprising if the Western imperialists omitted our own country from their plans, for Czechoslovakia, by virtue of its wealth and economic potentialities, and owing to its strategic position, forms a serious obstacle to aggressive plans. However, we cannot complain about the insufficient interest of the imperialists in our country. The imperialist protectors of the pre-Munich bourgeois republic did not leave anything undone to gain power in our country.

"Indeed, the present trial shows that the imperialists did not fail to create their strategic reserve in Czechoslovakia inside the Communist Party. The trial has proved that the Western imperialists started implementing these plans regarding Czechoslovakia right at the beginning of the Second World War.

"Can it be mere coincidence that in addition to the agents recruited at a later date, six of the present defendants returned after the war to Czechoslovakia, with long term tasks given them by their imperialist masters? These six are Clementis, Loebel, Sling, Frejka, Hajdu and Andre Simone.

"Is it mere coincidence that in 1939 agents of the British bourgeoisie, who hate Communism so strongly, hurried to the assistance of two Communist Deputies, Slansky and Clementis, at the behest of agent Ripka? Is it coincidence that Clementis was aided in 1939 by English lords when he found himself in a French internment camp?

"No, all this is not coincidence, just as it is not coincidence that the so-called charitable institution trust fund was recruiting spies in Poland at the beginning of the war through its agent Hermann Field. A similar organization was set up in Switzerland by Noel Field, the closest collaborator of the man who was in charge of American espionage in Central and Eastern Europe.

"Sling's and Frejka's evidence about the true character of the trust fund fully confirmed these facts. In fact, even before the Second World War, the imperialists planted their agents inside the Czechoslovak Communist Party. These imperialist agents maintained close connections with Benes in London. After the liberation all these spies, indicted in the recent trial, and other Trotskyite and Zionist agents and traitors overran Czechoslovakia. Sling has confirmed that they all returned with well defined treasonable plans.

"At the head of all these hostile elements the imperialists placed Rudolf Slansky, who has been unmasked in this trial as an inveterate

agent of the bourgeoisie and as a vile enemy of the people. By order of the American imperialists, Slansky gathered around him this whole gang and became its chieftain. Rudolf Slansky is the creator and head of this Conspiratorial Center."

The Prosecutor then proceeded to describe Slansky's background. He was the son of a wealthy businessman and he wormed his way into the Communist Party, despite his bourgeois origin. He never severed his links with the bourgeoisie. When confronted with bourgeois courts of law before the war, he acted in a cowardly and opportunist manner, disclaiming his membership in the Communist Party.

"Slansky's guilt for Sverma's death reveals him as a monster and as a hardened enemy who does not know any mercy." Sverma's death enabled Slansky later on to describe himself as the main advocate of the partisan fight, and to obtain the position of Secretary General of the Party. "Slansky is a man who is prepared to walk over corpses to achieve his ends.

"For years Slansky denied that he concluded a pact with the traitor Lausman, who deserted to the imperialists in order to be Slansky's quartermaster. He built up a false legend about his work as a partisan, thus following Tito's example. Cunningly deceiving the Party and its leading personages, Slansky built up his conspiratorial group, on the orders of the imperialists. The leaders of this anti-State plot are now in the dock.

"Who are these men? Josef Frank was a war criminal who should have been tried by a war tribunal for torturing Soviet and French prisoners in German concentration camps, an adventurer, thief and embezzler who for years under Slansky's protection, disguised his criminal past.

Bedrich Geminder, one of Slansky's closest friends, who was devoted to him and prepared to betray our country and our people at any moment in the interests of his master — this man without a country — was entrusted by Slansky with the international secretariat of the Party's Central Committee.

"Ludwig Frejka was an agent of the American spy Hermann Field, an inveterate cosmopolitan, who, with Slansky's help became chairman of the Party's Economic Commission and who created the legend that he was an indispensable economist with Marxist training. This swindler and traitor surrounded himself in the economic commission with similar enemies of the people — Goldmann, Jancik, Karny and others.

"Karel Svab, another war criminal who tortured prisoners in German concentration camps, was Slansky's reliable instrument for the domination of the National Security Corps. Vladimir Clementis was one of Benes' closest friends and agents, an old agent of the British, American and French espionage services, a Slovak bourgeois nationalist, an enemy of the people and of the Soviet Union, who quickly accepted Slansky's antipopular, treacherous platform.

"This renegade was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs. With Slansky's assistance, Vavro Hajdu, a Zionist and agent of the intelligence service, became Deputy Foreign Minister, and the Trotskyist Arthur London, an agent of the American espionage service, became Deputy Foreign Minister in Charge of Cadres.

"In the Ministry of Foreign Trade Slansky planted as Deputy Minister the Zionist Loebl Field's prewar agent, and later on an agent of the intelligence service, and the cosmopolitan Zionist and confidant of the British intelligence service, Rudolf Margolius. These saboteurs

turned the Ministry of Foreign Trade into a trade agency of the Western capitalists.

"The post of Deputy Minister of Finance was filled by Slansky with the collaborator and protector of Nazi war criminals, that adventurer and organizer of Zionist disruptive campaigns, the leading agent of the Israeli espionage service, Otto Fischl.

"As Deputy Minister of National Defense Slansky appointed Bedrich Reicin. This Gestapo agent and contemptible traitor, whose black conscience is burdened with the guilt for the death of members of the illegal committee of the Communist Party and the editors of RUDE PRAVO, including the national hero, Julius Fucik, beloved by our people and by all progressive people throughout the world, became, after the defeat of the Nazis, Slansky's valuable assistant and an agent of the American, British, and Yugoslav espionage services.

"Otto Sling, the son of an industrialist millionaire, remained throughout his life a capitalist, alien to the working class, closely connected with British and American imperialists and with Benes' clique, an agent of the American spy Voska and of the British spy Hanson. This traitor was made by Slansky and Svermova regional secretary of the party in Brno, one of the most important regions of the Republic.

"This assembly of criminals also includes Andre Simone, an old Trotskyist and spy. His criminal past fitted him well for the part of Slansky's 'court writer' and servant on the staff of RUDE PRAVO." All these contemptible enemies of the people penetrated, with Slansky's help, the most important positions in the State and Party, and in their turn planted hostile elements in their own departments. Frejka, Frank, and Jancik planted so-called experts, sworn enemies of the

working class and the USSR. They planted capitalist agents as director generals in various branches of production. Among them were Fabinger, Jicinsky, Rada, Holy, Smrkovsky, Vlk, and an endless stream of others. Similar appointments were made in foreign trade by Loebl and Margolius. Capitalist, antipopular, Zionist elements were planted in the State trade monopolies.

"Exactly the same were the activities of Reicin in the Army and Svab in the security sphere." The same treacherous work was done in the regions by the regional secretaries, in particular by Sling in Brno. This grand scheme to get hold of the Party was, however, unmasked in time, but the extent of the plot shows how dangerous it was. "This conspiracy grew and affected all important positions like a cancer.

"Though the whole life of Slansky runs — like red thread — his Trotskyist line. His best friends from childhood were Trotskyists. His closest collaborators after the liberation were Trotskyists. He admitted bringing Trotskyists back into the Party.

"But Slansky was not a greenhorn as a bourgeois agent in the working class movement. He knows how the Trotskyist plot worked in the USSR. He does not draw on the experiences of the Soviet people and their Party, but on the experience of the Trotskyists. From this experience he learns the lesson that he must camouflage himself better than the Soviet Trotskyists had done. He and his gang do not come into the open with their own platform — be it ever so false and hypocritical.

"From the experience of Soviet history it was clear that they could never come before the masses with any mendacious platform. For this reason they seemingly accept the correct deci-

sions of Party and Government. Seemingly they bow to them, but they carry them out in their own wrecking fashion. In their heart of hearts they remained all the time sworn enemies of the people and of the Communist Party, allies of the most aggressive imperialist powers.

"As Trotsky sold the country to Nazi Germany and the Mikado's Japan, in the same way the Trotskyist Slansky and his accomplices tried to sell their country to the successors of Hitler, the U.S. imperialists." He recruited his accomplices from among the Trotskyist scum.

"Clementis, a Western spy and lackey of Benes, was at the same time the representative of bourgeois nationalism. Clementis, this henchman and favorite of Benes was an advocate of the false theory of Czechoslovakism, that he denied altogether the existence of a Slovak Nation, that he proclaimed Slovak as a mere dialect. How can it be explained, then, that Clementis formed such a close alliance with this Benes?

"The explanation is simple. Benes and Clementis both fought, not for the rights of the people, but for the exploitive interest of the bourgeoisie. They both believed that the U.S. Army would occupy Czechoslovakia, and in that case they hoped Czechoslovakia would become a U.S. protectorate." Czechoslovakia would have become an object of exploitation by the U.S. monopolists. This development was prevented by the liberation of the country by the USSR.

The Communist Party fought even during the First Republic against Benes' nationalistic and chauvinistic policy toward the Slovaks. The Kosice program fully safeguarded the rights of the Slovak people, as did the Czechoslovak Constitution. Clementis and the other bourgeois nationalists wanted to serve their U.S. masters and

in their interest strengthen the position of the Slovak bourgeoisie.

"Slovak separation in Clementis' version means the handing over of Slovakia to the U.S. imperialists. They are all on the same antipeople's platform, together with the Slovak reactionaries represented by the traitors Lettrich, Ursiny, Durcansky, and even Sidor, and together they aimed at the overthrow of the People's Democratic regime, the splitting of our Republic, the restoration of capitalism, the return of want and hunger to the Slovak people. They wanted to hand to the Americans the vital rights of the Slovak people.

"The Slovakia of want and emigration has gone forever. The country is developing and industrializing at an unprecedented pace and the living standard of its people is approaching that of the people of Bohemia. To create the conditions for this upsurge is the expression of real and genuine love for the Slovak people. These conditions are a firm link with the Czech working class and a common unbreakable link with the USSR.

"Clementis and his bourgeois nationalist allies worked against these very conditions. They, together with the other members of the Conspiratorial Center, aimed at severing the Slovak from the Czech working people, restoring capitalism, handing the country over to the U.S. imperialists, and transforming it into a U.S. war base. These were the common aims of Clementis and Slansky and the basis of their cooperation. Finally, how could this self-styled Slovak patriot be a spy at the same time? His being a spy shows up his patriotism for what it was worth.

"It will be necessary for me to go into details of this so-called Zionist movement. One of the reasons for this is that all of the defendants

have been trained by Zionist organizations. Another reason is that the trial shows to all Communist and Workers Parties the danger of Zionism as an agency of U.S. imperialism. The Zionist organizations have always had close links with world capitalism and have therefore been dangerous enemies of the liberation struggle of the working class.

"The dangerous character of the international Zionist organizations increased after the setting up of a U.S. satellite, the so-called State of Israel. Even after the setting up of the State of Israel the main seat of Zionist organizations remained in the United States, where the Zionists are strongly represented among the U.S. monopolists who are laying down the whole aggressive policy of the United States. The Ben Gurion Government, which has sold out to its U.S. providers, is transforming Israel into a military base for U.S. aggression.

"The Zionist agents in Slansky's Conspiratorial Center served mainly the U.S. aims of world domination and aggression and not the working people of Israel by their criminal activities. Cosmopolitanism and Jewish bourgeois nationalism are in fact only two sides of the same coin, and a bad coin at that.

"The building of Socialism is contrary to their class interests. The Zionist movement is not some kind of an idea, some sort of an ideology — even though a wrong one. It is — and this trial has shown it clearly — identical with the Zionist organizations in the United States plus the ruling clique of the State of Israel plus the Zionist capitalists throughout the world, bound by close links to the capitalist imperialists.

"The evidence of the U.S. spy, the Zionist Orenstein, has shown that this link is directly based on a secret agreement between Truman, Acheson,

and Ben Gurion, that the consequence of this agreement is the Morgenthau-Acheson plan, which laid down the conditions for U.S. support for the setting up of the State of Israel.

"The representatives of Israel gave the assurance that Israel would fully support the plans of the U.S. imperialists for attaining world domination as well as support Zionist organizations not only in the United States, but throughout the world. In our country the implementation of this agreement lay in the hands of the Israeli Minister, Ehud Avriel Ueberall."

"The trial has shown the smooth cooperation between the representatives of Israel, the Zionist organizations, and the Slansky gang in stealing the people's property and handing it over to Israel by various means — the so-called Ueberall dollar offensive, for instance, and so forth.

The Prosecutor then dealt with Fischl who, he said, had collaborated with the Nazis during the war and after the war had saved Nazis and murderers, even people guilty of the massacre of Lidice and Lexaky — for instance, the Nazi judge Zechner. He was a Zionist. He had protected the murderers of Jews and was an ally of the neo-Nazis. "This is their real face. In the same way, Ben Gurion's Government in Israel, which sold out to the U.S. imperialists, is becoming an ally of West Germany.

"Many of the defendants unscrupulously misused the fact that the Czech and Slovak peoples despised anti-Semitism, all the more since Hitler massacred the Jews in his concentration camps. This very fact was misused by various Jewish racketeers, industrialists, and bourgeois elements to worm themselves into the Party, preventing any criticisms and hiding their real face behind the sufferings of the Jewish people at the hands of the Nazis.

"Our people know that our Party will never give up its proletarian internationalism, that in this trial the defendants are anti-State criminals, international Zionist racketeers in a grand style, agents of Western imperialism." It is only logical that Slansky planted Zionists in the most important positions of the economy and Party, that he supported the Zionist organizations and their criminal activities in connection with emigration, which caused such tremendous damage to the Republic.

"This trial has shown up the dangerous character of Zionism in its full depth. The international significance of this trial is based, among other things, on the fact that it warns not only our own Communist Party, but also the other Communist and Workers Parties, against this dangerous agency of the U.S. imperialists.

"Slansky, himself a Zionist, Trotskyist, lackey of the bourgeoisie in the First Republic and of the imperialists in his further development, gathers around himself a group of people of his own ilk, people who he knows have nothing to do with the interests of the working people, enemies of the people like himself who he knew would willingly fulfill his orders and implement his counterrevolutionary plans."

"These people he found among those who returned after the war from the West, where they had become spies; among the Zionists, Trotskyists, bourgeois nationalists, collaborators, and other enemies of Czechoslovakia. On whom else could he have relied for his antipeoples plan? He packed the State and Party organizations with such elements, and did so with the utmost craftiness.

"Slansky knew very well that in the struggle for Socialism in our country—this greatest struggle in history—and for the victory of the

new social order, the decisive role would be played by the revolutionary Party of the working class, the Communist Party, which follows the teaching of Marx, Engels, and Stalin. Hence he and his fellow conspirators concentrated their endeavors on gaining control of the Party and on transforming this instrument of the working class for building Socialism into an instrument for restoring capitalism.

"For this purpose they sabotaged all those basic principles which made the Party an effective weapon of the working class. They replaced the methods of systematic and patient persuasion and mass political activities by dictating. They suppressed the principles of democratic centralism and democracy within the Party, the principles of criticism and self-criticism." They planned to hand over the Republic at the right moment to the U.S. imperialists following Tito's example.

"For this purpose it was necessary to pack the Party with bourgeois elements, thereby destroying its proletarian class character. The recruiting campaigns for the Party organized by Slansky were best characterized by his instructions to the Communist officials of the national committees of August 15, 1947, which spoke of recruitment of people of standing, the lower middle class, and the bourgeoisie. Workers and small peasants were not even mentioned.

"They covered up their sabotage within the Party for a long time by pretending that those were all minor affairs and that it was not necessary to bother the Party leadership with them. The Party Control Commission, which was to investigate them, was in the hands of Jarmila Taussigova, another member of Slansky's Conspiratorial Center. The evidence has

shown how he succeeded in sabotaging the investigation against Sling in Brno.

"The case of this bourgeois, Sling, has shown best how this sabotage of the work of the Party was carried out. What Slansky did on a national scale, Sling and the other regional secretaries appointed by Slansky did in their regions. Thanks to Slansky and Svermova, some secretaries in the most important industrial regions were Vitezslav Fuchs, Mikulas Landa-Landau, Lomsky alias Gabriel Liebsen, Ervin Polak, and Koloman Mosko alias Moskovic — all Zionist adventurers and hostile elements, alien to the Party.

"People like Sling were to be in control of the Party in the regions and guarantee the execution of the plotters' schemes. But the wreckers, despite their efforts to alter the Party's revolutionary character, to gain control over it, and to render it incapable of fulfilling its historic mission, failed to realize their plans.

"If we remember that shortly after the February events, the plotters' network began to crack, we notice that no positions they occupied were of any avail, that they were exposed and rendered harmless after a short period, even their leader, Rudolf Slansky. The Party and all its honest members have stood firmly behind their beloved leader, Klement Gottwald, and behind Gottwald's Party leadership. The Party directives were clear; they mobilized the people and pointed out the correct road. They were the most serious obstacle to the wreckers' success. Honest Party members protected its purity. Only for a short time were the plotters able to silence the warnings from below. They did not succeed in silencing criticism. The Party, led by Gottwald, "was locked in continuous struggle with them from the very begin-

ning." The various criminal elements were exposed one after another. Today they are standing trial.

"The Party has been victorious — it could not have been otherwise. The Party and its Bolshevik leadership are continuing to lead our people along the victorious path toward Socialism.

"The criminals did not ignore the fact that the Party, enriched by Soviet experience, was straining all its efforts toward the advance of the country's economy, and toward a higher standard of living. Therefore, in their criminal attempt to discredit their endeavor in the eyes of the people, to thwart the advance of the country, to make it dependent on Western imperialists, and finally to hand it over to the U.S. aspirants for world hegemony and their aggressive plans, they carried out extensive sabotage activities in the field of planning, industrial and agricultural production, supply and foreign trade — in short, in all spheres.

"In the course of the trial it was proved that the plotters caused the Czechoslovak economy losses of many billions. They thus carried on in a different form where the U.S. imperialists left off with their air raids at the end of the war. On April 17 and 18, 1945, the U.S. imperialists destroyed 70 percent of the Skoda works; in 1949 the accused Margolius signed an undertaking to pay the so-called Skoda loan negotiated by the Czechoslovak capitalists under the First Republic.

"After the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Army the imperialist agency of Slansky and Frejka established itself in the Czechoslovak economy. Its elements provided for the imperialists, by their bourgeois Zionist attitude, a guarantee to the effect that they would carry out instructions issued by the U.S. monopolists.

A ramified and cleverly concealed network of plotters, directed by Slansky and Frejka, has been set up in Czechoslovak economy.

"Their criminal aim has been described by one of the most influential U.S. warmongers, George Kennan, head of foreign policy planning in the U.S. State Department, who said: 'The basic aim of U.S. foreign policy is to draw to its side the People's Democratic countries by both political and economic pressure.'

"The aims of the so-called UNRRA mission, controlled by Loebl, the "bridge" plan, as conceived by Ripka, the work of Slansky and Frejka, the endeavor to Marshallize Czechoslovakia, and, after this failed, the policy of discrimination and blockade—all are based on that idea. The same aim was pursued by various other schemes such as the Ueberall scheme, 'the dollar offensive,' and others.

"The plotters entered the struggle against the people, armed with fraudulent arguments such as the argument that Czechoslovakia abounds with poor ores, that its industry is advanced and of a peculiar structure, and so on. Behind all those fraudulent arguments was the endeavor to subordinate the country to the capitalist world, and to intensify its dependence on capitalist countries.

"With that in view, the plotters purposely neglected the utilization of the country's natural resources, and ignored the unlimited industrial potential and aid of the Soviets and the People's Democracies. They were not impelled by consideration for the needs and interests of the Czechoslovak peoples, but by the endeavor to subordinate Czechoslovak economy to the predatory interests of the U.S. imperialists, by the endeavor to harm and weaken this country.

"It has been revealed that the roots of the criminals are anchored in the breeding grounds of foreign intelligence services. Frejka, Loebl, and others, by giving away secret data of the Czechoslovak economy, gave assistance to the U.S. imperialists to effect economic and political pressure and to intensify economic discrimination. The plotters, aware of the decisive significance of economic planning in a country advancing toward Socialism, attempted in the first place to sabotage that particular field.

"The plotters sabotaged the implementation of Gottwald's economic policy, thus slowing down Czechoslovakia's advance toward Socialism. Millions of workers were fighting for the plan; yet behind the backs of the Party and Government, another treacherous scheme was being put into operation, seeking to make the building of Socialism impossible. The plotters endeavored to subordinate Czechoslovak economy to capitalist countries, and to thwart cooperation with the USSR and the People's Democracies. With this in view, planning methods were introduced aiming at rendering impossible effective control and at eliminating both Party and Government from decisions on the most important questions."

"Despite the country's wealth in both ferrous and nonferrous ores, the plotters failed to make provisions in the plan for adequate development in these fields. They not only confined themselves to local plans of ore extraction, but even went so far as to liquidate mines near Sterberk. No mention was made, either in the Two or the Five Year Plan, of exploitation of nonferrous metals.

"For the development of Czechoslovak metal production the plotters adopted the conception of Taub, a U.S. spy and adviser to Chiang Kai-shek, under which the basis of engineering was

to be motor vehicle production. Through this production, not safeguarded by raw materials available at home, Czechoslovakia was to have become an appendix of the capitalist countries.

"As regards the chemical industry, there was neglect in producing materials which would have replaced imported raw materials, in particular fuel, synthetic rubber, and other synthetic materials. The plan made provision for an increase in production of sectors which required imports of raw materials from the capitalist countries.

"To do away with dependence on the capitalist countries it would have been necessary to promote cooperation with the USSR and the People's Democracies. This would have required a change of structure, particularly increased productive capacities of plants, chiefly in steel production. The plotters, however, sabotaged these basic requirements of industry. In the plan they made excessive provision for the textile, light engineering, and rubber industries.

"That approach threatened the advance toward an improved standard of living, as it would have necessitated more imports from the capitalist countries and at the same time increased exports of those goods. As a result of that policy a large percentage of raw materials imported from the capitalist countries were again exported to those countries at highly unfavorable prices.

"Most serious was the effect of the plotters' sabotage policy in the sphere of capital investment. Investment goods were not allocated to sectors capable of relying on raw materials available at home, but to fields in which Czechoslovakia possessed no raw materials, and in which the utilization of investments would have been tied to increased imports, chiefly from the capitalist countries, as well as to markets in those countries. Thus, the appropriation for the tex-

tile, leather, and rubber industries under the Two Year Plan amounted to 39 times as much as was provided for the utilization of ore deposits at home.

"The advance toward Socialism was slowed down by incorrect allocation of capital investment and by its dispersal. Home production of iron ores was allocated a mere 0.08 percent of the investment total planned for the whole of industry. No provision was made for a synthetic rubber plant or an aluminum plant, and insufficient provision for the development of the Stalin works.

"The plotters treacherously planned excessive investments in sectors in which existing productive capacity remained unutilized, with a result that huge plants were built prematurely for which engineering and steel requirements were not available. Investment capital, instead of being concentrated, was dispersed. This manifested itself chiefly in power production and caused shortages of power.

"Appropriation of investment was effected without previous project planning and frequently without a clearcut production program in the plant which was to be built. Thus, 48 million kcs. were frittered away in Martinkov; in Zablati, near Trencin, 37 million kcs. were lost.

"At the same time, under the pretext of reconstruction, plants still capable of production were destroyed. In Trinec the damage caused by the plotters' reconstruction scheme amounted to nine billion kcs., in addition to which the productive capacity of the plant was reduced during this period. In Kladno the dismantling of four blast furnaces caused the loss of 1½ billion kcs.

"The enormous damage caused by the plotters' activities was of a material, moral, and political nature. They also slowed down the development

of Socialism in those People's Democratic countries with which Czechoslovakia had entered into contracts for the delivery of plant and machinery and which were not carried out. The execution of the plotters' sabotage scheme also affected the defensive ability of Czechoslovakia. It had as its aim the weakening of the country and the destruction of its effective defensive ability in the event of an attack by the imperialist aggressors.

"The plotters sought to weaken the strength of the entire camp of peace, thereby putting themselves fully at the disposal of those who were planning a new world war.

"Despite all intrigues, the malignant growth planted by the saboteurs in the healthy body of the Five Year Plan was destroyed during the execution of the plan by our working people. The treacherous plans to paralyze our development have suffered an inglorious failure, thanks to the Party and to the workers' constructive enthusiasm. After the February 1951 session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, industrial production was raised, not by 57 percent, but by 98 percent. Production of iron ore will be 2.7 times higher than originally planned; investment development of heavy industry will exceed the original plan figure by almost 75 percent.

"This trial has exposed the roots of a series of deficiencies. It has been proved that the plotters caused difficulties in power supply, and an unsatisfactory state of affairs in meat supplies, which necessitated a rise in meat prices on the free market. By these methods the plotters endeavored to cause dissatisfaction and to carry out the task entrusted to them by their imperialist masters.

"They were also responsible for vast losses in the field of foreign trade, where, for an extensive period, they carried out their subversive activities. It was particularly in this sphere that they took a series of harmful steps, such as the 'dollar aid scheme.'

"They conspired with Zionists from capitalist countries and agreed upon subtle schemes to defraud this country. Thus, unfavorable and harmful agreements were concluded, with a one-sided advantage for the capitalist countries.

"Czechoslovakia never has refused to engage in trade relations with capitalist countries, nor does it refuse even now. There is however, one condition: That the principle of equality among contractual partners is safeguarded. Under this condition, differences in economic systems can form no obstacle in the development of international cooperation. In the field of foreign trade, the plotters, however, violated this principle intentionally and entered into agreements in which Czechoslovakia was not an equal partner and from which it did not derive any advantage. One of those agreements was the so-called 'dollar offensive,' which at the same time exposed the hostile conception seeking to subordinate the Czechoslovak economy to the U.S. monopolists. Under that scheme, goods were exported from Czechoslovakia at prices so low as even to astound U.S. customs officials.

"A further harmful act was the agreement and payment of compensation for nationalized property in Czechoslovakia to foreign capitalists. One of the most characteristic instances of that kind was the agreement with Unilever in 1948, when the plotters fraudulently enforced an agreement under which Czechoslovakia was to pay compensation for the former property of a capitalist German company, that of George Schicht,

a bastion of Nazism in the pre-Munich period. According to law the Schicht works should have been subject to confiscation; despite this, an agreement was entered into under which an unlawful payment of over 63.5 million kcs. was made.

"Another violation of the principle of equality and mutual advantage was the agreement with Britain in 1949 involving a long term obligation to compensate British owners of nationalized property in Czechoslovakia and recognizing all old debts, including wartime credits. A whole series of agreements were thus concluded, which constituted a fraud on the Party and Government, since the plotters concealed the disadvantage.

"The plotters welded the Czechoslovak economy to that of capitalist countries by negotiating loans from private capitalist firms such as Hambro in London. They used all opportunities to rob the working people. Thus, according to an agreement with Zionist-Israeli circles, 17 percent of the total Czechoslovak exports to Israel were in effect exported without compensation.

"In the course of the trial a number of treacherous acts were exposed, such as the intentional support of Tito's economy by signing a contract for a huge amount of investment goods and of other important materials aimed at supporting Tito's regime, even after the Cominform resolution. Negotiations of Czechoslovak imports and exports were entrusted to treacherous emigres, Zionists, international sharks, and to other leeches who drew colossal profits from the Czechoslovak economy. To maintain those capitalist elements was a definite part of the treacherous schemes of the plotter's center.

"It has further been proved that in agricultural production too the plotters endeavored to put obstacles on the path to Socialism and to thwart Socialist reconstruction in the countryside by supporting kulaks and landowners and carrying out sabotage on Czechoslovak State farms and on schemes aimed at increasing agricultural productivity.

"To conceal their activities they invented a series of theories such as that of the unavoidable loss by Czechoslovak State farms — put forward by Smrkovsky — or that of the permanent indebtedness of Czechoslovakia to capitalist countries. The exposure of huge losses in foreign trade and the robbing of the People's Democracies was made possible by the introduction of the fraudulent 'account' by Loebl. The plotters collaborated with people like Taub and Ueberall. They relied on Zionist circles in the capitalist world and tried to interfere with the fraternal relations between the USSR and the People's Democracies, thereby plotting against the country's independence and sovereignty.

"They intentionally neglected the priority needs for the development of heavy industry and engineering. They were responsible for the artificial creation of unequal progress in the national economy, thereby aiming at bringing about in Czechoslovakia that state of affairs which Tito had created in Yugoslavia.

"In the course of the trial, Tito's and Slansky's common aims have been exposed. The trial has shown that all the wreckers' robbery of this country was aimed at putting into effect the plan in which UNRRA failed, bringing about the state of affairs which the Marshall Plan has effected in the satellite countries — creating an impoverished country, the conditions for restoring capitalism, and handing her over without de-

tense of the yoke of the U.S. monopolists. Although the damage and losses caused by the conspirators were heavy, they nevertheless have not achieved their aims. Gottwald's Five Year Plan is progressing, and the Socialist industrialization of the country is irrevocably continuing.

"This trial has shown, above all, the plans laid down by the Western imperialists for the unleashing of a new war against the Soviet Union and the countries of the peace camp. The Czechoslovak Government, however, has paid much attention to the development of the Czechoslovak Army after the example of the invincible Soviet Army. The Czechoslovak Army, the real People's Army, is the love and pride of the Czechoslovak people. For this reason the Czechoslovak people have received with just anger the disclosure of the criminal efforts of the conspirators to make the Czechoslovak Army powerless in the defense of Czechoslovakia's independence.

"Full responsibility for this falls on Slansky and his monster, Reicin. Rudolf Slansky in his position as Secretary General of the Communist Party and Chairman of the Communist Party Defense Commission, as well as Chairman of the National Assembly Defense Committee, had ample opportunities for his criminal activities. So did Reicin, who was at first the head of Defense Intelligence, and later Deputy Minister of National Defense with responsibility for cadre matters.

"The Conspiratorial Center also made it possible for reactionary officers to remain in the army, and they were raised to the highest commanding posts. The plotters were in agreement with the reactionary policy of Benes, who desired to place the Czechoslovak Army in the

service of Western imperialists against the Czechoslovak people.

"Slansky found it convenient to have Reicin in contact with reactionary officers who returned from the West, like Gen. Bocek, who was condemned for high treason, Gen. Pika, and others. At the beginning of 1948 Benes instructed Generals Pika and Hasal to prepare a register of reliable generals with whom he intended at the right moment to staff the most important posts in the Czechoslovak Army. Slansky and Reicin were informed about this, and because this move was in line with their counterrevolutionary aims, they took no precautions.

Benes and Slansky were agents of the Western imperialists and acted on their orders. Before the February events Slansky and Reicin, together with the bourgeois clique, had held practically all key positions in the Army. After February 1948, more reactionary elements, such as Simon Drgac, Vladimir Srnec, and a number of others, received important army posts from the two accused. The accused Sling, who enlisted reactionary generals Novak, Kouril, and Budin into the services of the anti-State center, acted on the same lines in Brno. Sling, with the knowledge of Slansky, gave them instructions to man tank units with officers devoted to Slansky and his confederates.

"The reactionary nature of these officers was camouflaged by their membership in the Communist Party, which was facilitated by the conspirators. Similarly, the conspirators sabotaged the Party's political work in the army, so that the Party organizations could not unmask the reactionary activities of enemy elements in the army. The sabotage of the conspirators was equally dangerous in the field of organizational

structure and unification of equipment in the army.

"Reicin was engaged in espionage activities in the army, which he carried out with the full knowledge and consent of Slansky. This base traitor, instead of guarding the army against espionage, himself infamously gave away important military secrets. Reicin supplied the U.S., British, and French military attaches with military secrets. He even arranged for these attaches to visit military training schools and industrial undertakings.

"The aim of the Conspiratorial Center was to bring about a situation such that the army would be incapable of defending our Fatherland in the event of an attack on our country by the U.S. aggressors, so that the enemy could break through into our land and destroy all our people's work, so that the enemy could plunder and murder just as he has been doing in Korea.

However, the Czechoslovak people have thwarted the traitor's plans, and the army, now under new leadership, is a tower of strength. Our people are ready to welcome the aggressor fully armed.

"Reicin, a devoted agent of the Sicherheitsdienst, went to the Soviet Union, where he betrayed the Czechoslovak people's interests and continued his treacherous activities as Slansky's instrument and a lackey of all imperialist secret services until his arrest. The chain of evil that he has done is endless. Slansky and his gang took possession of the leading posts in the security organs in order to facilitate the subversive activities of the imperialist intelligence services and various hostile elements. Slansky posted Reicin in the security services, although he knew that he was a war criminal who had tortured and robbed concentration camp prisoners.

"Svab himself was well informed about the ramifications of this Conspiratorial Center, and about its subversive activities, even when he was the head of the security section of the Communist Party Central Secretariat. In his position as Deputy Minister of National Security, he received further information concerning the activities of individual members of the Conspiratorial Center. He had important knowledge about Zionist organizations which were dangerous imperialist agencies.

"All this information he passed on to Slansky, on whose orders he protected these evildoers, whom he handed various documents so that they could cover their activities. In particular, Slansky and Svab carefully hid their connections with U.S. and Titoist espionage.

When the widespread U.S. and Titoist espionage net was discovered in Czechoslovakia, Svab was entrusted with investigating it, in the course of which he found out about Frejka's and Loebl's connection with Field. He conducted this investigation only formally, and the spies and traitors remained in their places. Svab suppressed all the evidence, which he even supplied to the conspirators, thus preventing their unmasking. He made the activities of a number of Trotskyites possible, particularly their so-called Grand Council and the interbrigade group, who had infiltrated themselves in the Ministry of National Security, and the Trotskyites in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

"The conspirators gave key posts in the security apparatus to old police officers, Zionists, and other hostile elements. The leadership in these activities was assumed by Slansky, whose direct subordinate was Svab. It is necessary to state that the conspirators have not succeeded in causing the breakdown in the security organs,

thanks to the large number of security officials faithful to the people and Party.

"Slansky, his anti-State Conspiratorial Center and other affiliated criminal elements, from the very beginning of Czechoslovakia's liberation, developed activities seeking the disruption of the People's Democratic regime in Czechoslovakia. From the very outset, they worked in the service and according to instructions of the Western imperialists, through Western agents. The number of these agents was impressive.

"However, among all these agents a special place is held by Konni Zilliacus, master of political juggling. This apparently venerable gentleman travels through Europe, and his most heartfelt desire is to scatter all slanders spread in the West about the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. He introduces himself with the mask of a progressive labor member.

"Zilliacus often came here as a guest. He will never come again; his act has ended. We have torn off his theatrical mask. Under it the true face of a political swindler and imperialist agent has appeared. He is an officer of the intelligence service whose fingers are to be found wherever intrigues against the people's rule are being plotted. He knows all the practices carried out by professional spies, and in his briefcase he carries pledges written by his agents. He also brought such a pledge with him when he came to us.

"We are offering the British workers our fraternal advice to beware of this gentleman. Slansky, of course, knew well who Zilliacus was. He knew that Zilliacus was an old master spy. The first meeting between Slansky and Zilliacus took place in 1946, and later they met in the autumn of 1947. This was an important meeting, not only because Slansky at that time gave Zilliacus

important and valuable espionage reports, but, primarily, because at this meeting it was agreed between Slansky and Zilliacus to establish firm ties between the anti-State center and the Government circles of the Anglo-American imperialists.

"Slansky himself stated this in his disposition. On that occasion Slansky and Zilliacus also agreed on the methods for the implementation of the imperialist plans, which consisted in exploiting hostile elements within the Communist Party so as to restore capitalism and to liquidate the People's Democratic regime, in the Titoist manner.

"Since this first meeting a very lively connection grew up between Slansky and Zilliacus, for which Slansky used the courier service of the Foreign Office, as well as the services of his men in the Party and the Foreign Office — Geminder, Goldstuecker, Kratochvil, and Kavan. Thus, detailed espionage reports were sent to Zilliacus, and Zilliacus sent instructions back to Slansky in Czechoslovakia.

"Slansky established contact between Zilliacus and other members of the center, particularly with Clementis and Frejka. Frejka, upon every one of Zilliacus' visits, gave him detailed espionage reports on the entire structure of Czechoslovak economy and in 1947 handed over to Zilliacus copies of important economic reports.

"We have heard how in 1948 Frejka, during Zilliacus' visit, asked to be given more time for the preparation of a detailed espionage report ordered by Slansky for Zilliacus. Not that he would not like to oblige Zilliacus, God forbid. But such a diligent worker as Frejka could not prepare the espionage for the following report, which was rather lengthy and detailed, as required by Slansky. This was his only worry!"

"The treacherous Frejka certainly did not forget to disclose to Zilliacus the most important State secrets in the sphere of national economy, even if he had only had one day in which to do it.

"After February 1948 Zilliacus came to us to find out for himself how the imperialist agency set up under his leadership in our country was doing. He came to examine the position. The inspection ended well. Slansky said: 'I convinced Zilliacus that even then we maintained a friendly attitude.'

"However, Zilliacus' responsibility was not confined to Czechoslovakia only, but also extended to People's Democratic Poland, where he maintained contact with the imperialist agent Gomulka, and in Yugoslavia where he collaborated with Tito and his confederates. He used to go there as if to his own home and to his brethren. When Tito was unmasked by the Cominform as a traitor, Zilliacus fully backed his protege.

"Not even after Zilliacus openly took a stand in Tito's defense did Slansky and his anti-State center sever relations with him. Zilliacus is the strongest link between the anti-State center and the Western imperialists, through whose medium the imperialists tried to usher Czechoslovakia into their camp and to transform our country into their colony, a springboard for the war being prepared against the Soviet Union. Even if the connection with Zilliacus represents the strongest link, this is not the only link between the Conspiratorial Center and the imperialists."

Mordecai Oren met Pijade in Belgrade in 1948. Pijade told him that Slansky in Czechoslovakia and Gomulka in Poland backed the Titoist clique. In the same year Slansky and Pijade met during the latter's official visit to Czechoslovakia, and

Slansky assured him that he was in agreement with Tito's policy.

"We can rightly assume that the well known traveler and archspy, Zilliacus, did not fail to inform the Titoists about Slansky's attitude."

Out of the 14 accused, 11 have been charged with spying, and espionage is closely connected with high treason. The espionage contacts of Geminder, Clementis, Frejka, Loebl, Margolius, London, Hajdu, Sling, and Simone with various agents have been proved. Behind all these names is hidden the betrayal of the country to the imperialists, especially the Americans, the sworn enemies of Czechoslovakia.

"Reicin's activities were typical of the shameless and impertinent work of the Titoist espionage network. His case showed on what sort of scoundrels the Titoists were relying. Reicin, whose life since the beginning of the occupation period consisted of a chain of the basest acts of treason, proved a particularly suitable assistant of the Titoist agents. This agent of the Gestapo and the Sicherheitsdienst was certainly a suitable tool to be employed in imperialist espionage. Col. Ivanovic, who knew of Reicin's past, used him as he liked, beginning with 1945. Reicin was passed on by one Yugoslav military attache to another.

"The trial has shown that the Titoist clique, first represented by Ivanovic and later by Ristic, acted immediately, beginning with 1945, as the prolonged arm of the U.S. imperialists. This was proved by the fact that Ivanovic's knowledge of Reicin's past was derived only from the U.S. espionage service, for most members of the Gestapo and the Sicherheitsdienst fled with the Americans.

"Ivanovic could claim the greatest merit for the fact that the Americans invaded Czechoslo-

vakia like robbers in 1946, to steal the Stechovice files in order to get hold of the list of Gestapo agents and informers. Reicin admitted himself that Ivanovic openly informed him of the plans of the Titoists to disrupt the People's Democracies and to transfer them into the imperialist camp.

"The picture of the espionage activities of the plotters would be incomplete without a reference to the Stechovice incident, because there is irrefutable evidence that the Americans made extensive preparations for espionage activities from the very beginning of the restoration of Czechoslovakia's freedom and independence in 1945. This was done with the assistance of the most repulsive agents of the Gestapo. Reicin's own statements, as well as the documents presented to the court of the Stechovice incident, are proof of the fact that Reicin betrayed the existence and location of Frank's files to the Yugoslav spy Ivanovic. A few days later the U.S. gangsters invaded Czechoslovakia and took away the files, which among other things contained information on Reicin's cooperation with the Gestapo.

"This showed that it was Ivanovic and the Yugoslav espionage service which betrayed the existence and location of the Stechovice files. This cooperation between the United States and the Yugoslav espionage service was proof of the fact that the Tito gang cooperated closely with the U.S. imperialists a long time before the publication of the Cominform resolution. If Reicin were not responsible for anything but the handing over of the Stechovice files to the U.S. espionage service, he would deserve the death sentence for this alone.

"The espionage activities of the plotters who have access to the most confidential secrets of the State covered all spheres of political life and

were carried out to serve the interests of the U.S. imperialists and to undermine the Republic's defense capabilities. British, French, Israeli, and other channels were used by the plotters to pass on their information to its final destination, the U.S. espionage service.

"The historic days of February 1948 were also important for the criminal machinations of the plotters. Before February 1948 the center of plotters acted as a reserve of the U.S. imperialists. This did not mean that they were inactive. On the contrary, they gave their support to reaction. Slansky closely cooperated with the well known renegades Vilim and Lausman, and supported the right-wing of the Social Democratic Party. The accused worked hand in glove with the Benes clique.

"The plotters thus assisted the open agency of the imperialists in the execution of its plans hostile to the people, directed toward the restoration of capitalism. Slansky, however, realized what was not seen even by the cunning Benes, namely, that the Communist Party was gaining strength and that it was bound to become the leading force in society.

"Slansky realized that the bourgeoisie were bound to fail and that their putsch stood no chance of success. Slansky realized that a frontal attack against the people was out of the question, and he therefore resorted to the employment of treacherous methods of disruption. This explains why the plotters' center was waiting for further developments. It was only after February 1948 that the plotters' center became the chief force engaged in the execution of the imperialist plans in Czechoslovakia. The plotters then started to extend their positions of power in the machinery of the State and economic life with increased intensity. Slansky

admitted himself that he and his associates were out to usurp power in Czechoslovakia.

"In pursuance of this aim the plotters worked to occupy the most important posts in both State and Party. The road leading toward the usurpation of power by the plotters was, however, obstructed by the President of the Republic, all the people, and above all the working class. As long as Gottwald is at the helm of the State and the Party, the Republic will never be dragged back into capitalism. Every child in Czechoslovakia knows that very well. Slansky himself was aware of it.

"It is clear that Slansky did not stop at this obstacle. He did not even hesitate to make preparations for an attempt on the life of the beloved leader of the people, Gottwald. He left Dr. Haskovec, a Freemason and collaborationist, to act as Gottwald's physician. He admitted that it would have become necessary to get rid of Gottwald after the plotters accession to power. Slansky, that criminal capable of every dastardly deed, created a situation in which he held Gottwald's life in his claws.

"All the accused have pleaded guilty, and they have had to do so because overwhelming evidence is available in court. They have admitted what they had to admit in order to avoid appearing as ridiculous figures in court. Evidence available in court, as well as the admissions of all the accused, have fully proven how right the indictment was in every respect. Every individual accused is not only responsible for his own misdeeds, but also for those committed by his associates. This has been particularly proved in Slansky's case.

"It is necessary to reply to the question how it was possible for the gang of plotters to be in a position to undermine the Republic so effec-

tively and to conceal their base crimes against the people, the Party and the security organization. It must be emphasized above all that the gangsters were uncovered rather quickly.

"The criminal gang gradually lost one position after another, until in the end Slansky himself, the head of the plotters, was unmasked. It was certainly not easy to uncover them. This was so because the plotters occupied posts from which they should have guarded the interests of the Party and State against the machinations of the class enemy. Instead of doing this, they themselves engaged in such machinations and protected each other. They failed, however, to get hold of the Party. Only to a small extent did they succeed in penetrating the headquarters of the Party. All their attempts at masking and concealing their sinister activities were in the end futile.

"There is no fraud in which they would not have indulged. If necessary they hid behind a smokescreen. When people raised their voices against the Zionists, they shouted about the danger of anti-Semitism in order to hide the fact that they were pursuing the class interests of the Jewish bourgeoisie and were working hand in glove with U.S. imperialism through the medium of Zionism. The Party of Klement Gottwald smashed this gang of traitors in good time. Our people cannot be grateful enough to Comrade Gottwald for the fact that he systematically thwarted the criminal plans of the plotters with Bolshevik foresight and resolution.

"The gang of plotters made preparations to stab the people in the back in the event of an act of aggression against the Republic. The accused criminals are not only enemies of Czechoslovakia, but also of all peace-loving mankind.

Their unmasking and elimination is, therefore, not only a victory for Czechoslovakia, but is simultaneously a major defeat of the U.S. imperialists and a further victory of the camp of peace and democracy.

"The conspirators caused tremendous damage to our homeland, damage amounting to billions. Despite this we are victoriously implementing the plan. The innumerable messages received by the court during the past few days have displayed the firm resolution of the people to undo the damage caused by the agents of the imperialists in the shortest possible time. The road toward the continuation of peaceful reconstruction has been cleared. The ranks of the Communist Party are closer than before.

"In the name of our nations, against whose freedom and happiness the criminals rose, in the name of peace, against which they plotted shamelessly, I demand the death sentence for all the accused! No mercy should prevail!"

Following the speech of the Prosecutor, the court rose, and after the resumption of the court proceedings, counsel for the defense pleaded on behalf of the accused.

NOVEMBER 26, 1952 — AFTERNOON SESSION

The first to address the Court in the afternoon session was Dr. Vladimir Bartos, defending Slansky and Margolius, who was followed by Dr. Vojtech Posmura defending Geminder, Svab, and Loebel.

The next was Dr. Jaromir Ruzicka defending Simone, Frejka, and London, who was followed by Dr. Jiri Stastny defending Frank, Clementis and Reicin, and finally, by Dr. Vaclav Synek defending Hajdu, Sling, and Fischl. All counsels for the defense emphasized that the court proceedings have proven the evidence against the

accused to be irrefutable, and that the crimes are, on the whole, proved and confirmed by the fact that all the accused admitted their guilt in every respect.

Individual counsels for the defense referred to the fact that the leader of the plotters' center was the accused Slansky, who issued orders to individual members of the conspiracy, and that the latter then worked in conformity with these orders. This, they said, is a mitigating circumstance.

The afternoon session of the Court was concluded with final statements of the accused. They all said they had no choice but to admit and to confirm their crimes once more.

The Court then adjourned to resume the following morning when the sentences were announced.

—END OF THE SEVENTH DAY OF THE TRIAL—

NOVEMBER 27, 1952 — EIGHTH DAY OF

THE TRIAL — MORNING SESSION

(Pronouncement of verdict and sentences by the Presiding Judge in the Slansky trial.)

Presiding Judge: "In the name of the Republic, from November 20 to 27 the State Court in Prague tried the criminal case against the leaders of an Anti-State Conspiratorial Center, Rudolf Slansky and accomplices, on charges of the criminal offenses of high treason, espionage, sabotage, and military treason.

"Bearing in mind the facts and guided by Art. 161 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the Court has decided as follows:

Rudolf Slansky, born 1901, formerly Secretary General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, at the time of his arrest Deputy Premier of the Czechoslovak Republic;

Bedrich Geminder, born 1901, formerly head of the International Department, the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;

Ludvik Frejka, born 1904, formerly head of the Economic Section of the Chancellery of the President of the Czechoslovak Republic;

Josef Frank, born 1909, formerly Deputy Secretary General of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;

Vladimir Clementis, born 1902, formerly Foreign Minister;

Bedrich Reicin, born 1911, formerly Deputy Minister of National Defense;

Karel Svab, born 1904, formerly Deputy Minister of National Defense;

Arthur London, born 1915, formerly Deputy Foreign Minister;

Vavro Hajdu, born 1913, formerly Deputy Foreign Minister;

Evzen Loebl, born 1907, formerly Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade;

Rudolf Margolius, born 1913, formerly Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade;

Otto Fischl, born 1902, formerly Deputy Finance Minister;

Otto Sling, born 1912, formerly Chief Secretary of the Brno Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;

Andre Simone, real name Otto Katz, born 1895, formerly on the editorial staff of RUDE PRAVO.

"These men are all found guilty of the following offenses, carried out over a prolonged period up to the date of their arrest both in Prague and elsewhere.

"In collaboration with one another and with other persons they tried to destroy the independence of the Republic and the People's Democratic order guaranteed by the Constitution; in doing so they jeopardized this order to a considerable extent; and Slansky, Geminder, Frejka, Clementis, Reicin, London, Hajdu, Loebl, Margolius, Sling, and Simone—Katz—have collaborated with one another and with other persons in getting in touch with a foreign power or with foreign agents with the intent of betraying State secrets; they did in fact surrender State secrets to a foreign power; and they have committed this offense although the duty of keeping State secrets had either been expressly imposed on them or else derived from their very positions; they have committed these offenses in a particularly dangerous manner, on a considerable scale, and over a prolonged period; and Frejka, Clementis, Reicin, Hajdu, Sling, and Simone—Katz—committed this offense as members of an organization whose aim it is to spy out State secrets.

"Slansky, Frejka, Frank, Loebl, Margolius, and Fischl did not fulfill but violated the duties arising

from their positions with the intent of thwarting or impeding the implementation of a concerted economic plan and of causing grave damage to the work of the authorities, public organizations and enterprises.

"As members of a group they committed acts which did in fact render more difficult the implementation of a concerted economic plan in sectors of special importance; and their work did in fact gravely disrupt the work of the authorities and extensively damage the interests of national defense.

"Slansky, Frank, and Reicin secured advantages for the enemy during the Second World War, and they did so under especially aggravating circumstances.

"They have thus committed the following offenses;

1—All the accused have committed the criminal offense of high treason: Loebl, under Art. 12 of the penal code and under Art. 1, Para. 1—sections A, C, and Para. 2 and 3—sections one—of the Defense of the People's Democracy Act—Law No. 231 of 1948; all other accused under Art. 78, Para. 1—sections A and C, Para. 2—sections A and Z, and Para. 3—section B—of the penal code; the accused Slansky, Reicin, and Sling moreover under Para. 3—section D—of the same law.

2—Slansky, Geminder, Loeble, Clementis, Reicin, Frejka, Margolius, London, Hajdu, Sling, and Simone—Katz—have committed the criminal offense of espionage; Loebl, under Art. 12 of the penal code and under Art. 5, Para. 1, and Para. 2—sections B, C, D, and E of the Defense of the People's Democracy Act—Law No. 231 of 1948; the other accused under Art. 86, Para. 1, 2—sections A and B, and Para. 3—sections B, D, and E of the penal code; Clementis, Reicin, Frejka,

Hadju, Sling, and Simone — Katz — moreover, under Para. 3 — section C — of the same law.

3 — Slansky, Frank, Frejka, Loeb, Margolius, and Fischl have committed the criminal offense of sabotage; Loeb under Art. 12 of the penal code and under Art. 36, Para. 1, and Para. 2 — sections B and C of the Defense of the People's Democracy Act — Law No. 231 of 1948; the other accused under Art. 85, Para. 1 — sections A and B, Para. 2 — sections A, B, and C, and Para. 3 — section A of the penal code.

4 — Slansky, Frank, and Reich have committed the criminal offense of military treason under Art. 6, Para. 1 of Law No. 50 of 1923.

"For these criminal offenses sentences are passed on them as follows: Rudolf Slansky, Bedrich Geminder, Ludvik Frejka, Josef Frank, Vladimir Clementis, Bedrich Reich, Karel Svab, Rudolf Margolius, Otto Fischl, Otto Sling, and Andre Simone — Otto Katz — are sentenced to death under Art. 78, Para. 3 of the penal code; all of them except Karel Svab also with reference to Art. 22, Para. 1 of the penal code;

"Arthur London and Vavro Hajdu under Art. 78, Para. 1 of the penal code and with reference to Art. 22, Para. 1 of the penal code; Evzen Loeb under Art. 1, Para. 3 of the Defense of the People's Democracy Act — Law No. 231 of 1948;

All three also under Art. 43 of the penal code of 1850 insofar as this applies to Art. 21 Para. 1 of the penal code; also all three under Art. 29 Para. 2; and Evzen Loeb also under Art. 12 of the penal code, to imprisonment for life.

"All the accused moreover lose their citizenship. In the case of those sentenced to imprisonment the time spent under detention from the moment of their arrest shall be computed as part of their imprisonment.

"Concerning the extent of the sentences:

"The death sentence of Slansky, Geminder, Frejka, Frank, Clementis, Reich, Svab, Margolius, Fischl, Sling, and Simone is due to the depth of their betrayal of the people's trust, the extent of their cunning and infamy, and to the exceptional danger created by their criminal acts to our society, which is building Socialism, and to all peace-loving people fighting for world peace and democracy.

"Against these facts, which the court considers aggravating circumstances, the only extenuating circumstances is the confession by the aforementioned defendants. The court has therefore not enacted, in the case of these defendants, the provisions of Art. 29, Para. 2 of the penal code, believing them unjustified in this case.

"The defendants are such enemies of the working people that it is necessary to render them harmless by removing them from human society.

— END OF THE TRIAL —

The eleven sentenced to death were hanged on December 3, 1952.